

STUDIES IN THE
PURĀNIC RECORDS
ON
HINDU RITES AND CUSTOMS

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R.C. HAZRA

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*yo vidyāc caturō vedān sāṅg-paniṣado dvijah|
na cet purāṇaṁ samvidyān naiva sa syād vicakṣanaḥ||
itihāsa-purāṇābhyāṁ vedāṁ samupabrṁhayet|
vibhety alpa-śrutād vedo mām ayam praharisyati||*

TO PROFESSOR S. K. DE, M.A., D.LIT.,
this humble work is dedicated as a
token of deep reverence and sincere
gratitude by his pupil, the author.

APOLOGY FOR REPRINT

The present work (*Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*) was written in 1933-35, when I was a Research Student at the University of Dacca (now in Bangla Desh), and it was published by the said University a few years later, in 1940. At that time no critical edition of the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, or any of the Purāṇas or Upapurāṇas had been published, nor was there in printed form any of the parts of Laksmīdhara's voluminous Smṛti work Kṛtya-kalpataru, which abounds in references to and quotations from the Epics and the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and is thus extremely helpful in checking their contents and determining their chronology. I could not even find within my reach any complete or incomplete Ms. of Laksmīdhara's work. Of Ballālasena's Dānasāgara, which is equally valuable for its quotations from the Purāṇic works and records highly interesting information about some of these works, I could use only the India Office (London) Ms., the Bibliotheca Indica edition of this work being published much later.

On the other hand, the publication of my work, as the late Professor P. K. Gode predicted in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, 1941, pp. 250-251, opened up new avenues of research and gave an impetus to the study of the Purāṇas, particularly on their social and religious sides, and added very much to their popularity.

So, there is no denying the fact that my work ought to have been revised and improved thoroughly by this time. But, unfortunately, having little freedom of work and being compelled under unavoidable circumstances to divert my attention very often to subjects other than Purāṇic from about 1956 after I had joined service at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in 1951, I found little time to take up the work of revision in right earnest. In the meantime my work went out of print, and interested scholars from different parts of India and outside pressed me hard from time to time for a revised edition or at least for a reprint of the book.

Under these circumstances I was naturally feeling helpless, but fortunately, to my great relief, the generous and widely reputed publishers of Delhi, Messrs Motilal Banarsidass, came forward to remove this long felt want of scholars by bringing out immediately at their own risk a reprint of this book, with a short list of most unavoidable *Additions and Corrections*. But I hope to be able to revise this work thoroughly very soon after getting relieved of my present encumbrances.

Calcutta,
April, 1975.

R. C. Hazra

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- At p 6 (in lines 9-15) *omit* "Viññānesvara tells us are perhaps sufficient to show that" and *read instead* "Varied Smṛti topics are dealt with in the fairly early Upapurāṇas such as the Naraśimha-p, which come down from about the fifth or sixth century A D and claim to be parts of the Matsya and other Purāṇas From these it is evident that."
- At p 6 *omit* foot-notes 36-37.
- At p 43 (in lines 37-38) *omit* "which borrows, among others, chaps 207 (24b to the end) and 115-120 from the Matsyap" and *read instead* "from which the Matsya-p has borrowed a large number of chapters"
- At p 44 *omit* the first 8 lines of the foot-notes
- At p 101 (in lines 23-25) *omit* "and 112, . , it is probable" and *read instead* "and 112, 52-59 tally respectively with Padma-p (Sṛṣṭi-kh) 31, verses 105-145 and 150-157, it is probable"
- At p 128 (in line 12), immediately after "(I, 25, 23)" *add* "and the Ekāmra-p"
- At p 129 (in line 18), *transpose* "Sattva" and "Rajas"
- At p.198 (in line 20), *for* "(sammita)" *read* "(samita)"
- At p 201 (in line 20), immediately after "(II, 311)" *add* "and ascribed to the Brahmāṇḍa-p."
- At p 201 (at the end of the foot-note) *add* "So, their early origin cannot be denied"
- At p 204 (in line 11), *for* "devotion" *read* "faith".
- At p.262 (in line 36), *for* "sections" *read* "groups".
- At p.282 *for* line 12 of the first column *read* "p 490 = 241, 2".

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PREFACE

The extant Purāṇas present a very rich collection of materials for the study of the development of Hindu rites and customs during the centuries intervening between Yājñavalkya and the Smṛti-Nibandhas. During this long period, the Hindu society passed through numerous vicissitudes, so much so that in many respects the Hindu rites and customs, as found in the Nibandhas, differ from those in the Codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya. Hence the study of the Purāṇas is of immense importance for a clear understanding of the whole course of the development. But none of the extant Purāṇas being assignable to any positive date, the greatest difficulty which makes their study impracticable and unscientific is the want of a proper chronology of the chapters constituting the individual Purāṇas. Unfortunately no systematic attempt was made to remove this long felt want, probably because, as Mr. P. V. Kane says, 'the chronology of the Purāṇas is, like that of the epics, a subject full of perplexing problems'. The work, done by such eminent scholars as H. H. Wilson, F. E. Pargiter and Haraprasad Shastri even in regard to the approximate dates of only a few of the Purāṇic works, is not at all considerable, nor are their conclusions always acceptable. Hence the first thing, on which attention has been directed in this work, has been to determine as approximately as possible the chronology of the Purāṇic chapters, or parts thereof, on Hindu rites and customs. I should mention here that in this chronology, which is based only on such evidences as are contained in the majority of the editions of the individual Purāṇas, attention has been given especially to those chapters which are devoted mainly to the treatment of the above mentioned topics, and, the scope of this work being limited to the study of these matters during the period ranging approximately from 200 to 1000 A.D., those Purāṇas, which have been found to be hardly earlier than the tenth century, have been dealt with very briefly. However, on the basis of this chronology, which forms Part I of this work, I have attempted to describe in Part II the different stages in the development of the Purāṇic rites and customs. I have tried to show that these rites and customs are not the productions of a single social dictator or of a particular period of time, but were revised from generation to generation and reshaped

gradually to their present character with such additions as the changes in society demanded. With an eye to the notable changes in the religious and political history of ancient India, I have tried, further, to ascertain the factors which determined the stages in the development of the Purāṇic Dharma (i.e. law and custom) and moulded its character. This enquiry, which has been found absolutely necessary for a clear understanding of the nature and growth of the Purāṇic rites and customs, and which has in many cases led to interesting results, has involved an investigation into the origin of Purāṇic Hinduism, because in India, as in all other eastern countries, religion is inseparably connected with customs.

Besides the two parts, of which the present work mainly consists, there is an Appendix containing a long list of quotations which I have traced in the extant Purāṇas. This list has been extremely necessary not only for understanding the nature of the Purāṇas during the ages they were used by the commentators and Nibandha-writers but also for determining the dates of those Purāṇic chapters from which the quotations were made. This list may also be of some use to those scholars who will, in future, set themselves to the solution of textual problems relating to the Purāṇas.

Being concerned with a field of research hitherto almost unexplored, this work may interest those who want to study the Purāṇic literature and the Hindu social institutions. Attempts have been made to solve many problems relating to the Purāṇas and the Purāṇic Dharma; but no conclusion has been drawn which has not been sufficiently evidenced by the facts of the case. The chronological scheme in Part I is necessarily tentative, but all available materials have been fully considered and taken into account.

As this work is the result of a general study of the Purāṇic chapters on Hindu rites and customs, no attention has been given to the divergent opinions held by the different Purāṇas on the niceties of any particular rite or custom. Such detailed study would require a separate volume and has consequently been avoided.

Though this work is based on a first-hand study of the original sources, the accounts given in it of the rise and spread of Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvakism (i.e. the religion preached by Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta) are mainly based on those given in such authoritative works as the Cambridge History of India (Vol. I), V. A. Smith's Early History of India, and the like. In translating

some of the passages of the Purānas and Smṛti works, H. H. Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāna, F. E. Pargiter's Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna, Taluqdar's Matsya Purāna (S.B.H., Vol. XVII), Mahendra Nath Chatterjee's Śrīmadbhāgavata, and Buhler's Laws of Manu (S.B.E., Vol. XXV), Institutes of Gautama (S.B.E., Vol. II) and Institutes of Baudhāyana (S.B.E., Vol. XIV) have been extremely helpful to me. In studying the Purānas I have, in addition to the different printed editions, utilised the large collection of Purāṇa and Smṛti manuscripts existing in the Dacca University Library. Of the Dīnasāgara of Ballālasena I consulted the India Office manuscript, which was secured for me on loan by the Dacca University Library. As to the dates of the Smṛti-Samhitās and the Nibandhas, I have been generally guided by the indications of the veteran scholar Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., whose History of Dharmaśāstra (Vol. I) is undoubtedly the most valuable work on the subject.

By way of explaining why in a few cases I have used the Vangavāsī editions of the Purānas, printed in Bengali characters, in preference to the more widely used Devanāgarī editions, I should only say that these editions, though not critically accomplished from sufficient Manuscript material, are not always so negligible as scholars may take them to be. They are often, if not in all cases, based on Bengal Mss and have consequently different texts with less number of additional passages than the South Indian editions. However, the comparative notes on the different editions, which have been added to the analyses of the Purānas, will enable scholars to trace the references in the South Indian and other Devanāgarī editions.

My thankful obligations are due to my professor Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Lit., for his valuable suggestions and guidance. It was at his instance that I took up the Purānas as a subject of study. During the three years I worked with him on this subject he took very keen personal interest in the progress of my work and accorded to me such facilities as very few students of his department have ever enjoyed. In spite of his heavy duties and responsibilities he ungrudgingly took the trouble of going through the whole thesis step by step, as well as when it was finally completed. I am particularly grateful to our Vice-Chancellor, Dr. R. C. Majumder, M.A., Ph.D., for kindly securing books and manuscripts for my use from different libraries as well as for enabling me to publish my work as a Bulletin of the University. But for his help and sympathy the book would never have seen light so soon. I am also much obliged to Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Dacca University Mss Library, for giving me all possible help

in consulting the valuable collections of Sanskrit manuscripts in his charge, as well as for pointing out to me the reference to the Padma-purāna in a marginal note contained in a manuscript of the Yathārtha-mañjarī.

All necessary information regarding the editions of the Purānas and other works, which have been utilised, has been given in the Bibliography. Words, admitting of alternative spellings, have sometimes been used in both forms, viz., Vaśistha and Vasistha, Lomaharsana and Romaharsana, Kalkin and Kalki, Śambhala and Sambhala, Pāmsūla, and Pāmsula, Sātvata and Sāttvata, etc.; and, except in only one place (in Part I, Chapter I), the word 'Smṛti' has been used in its restricted sense to mean 'Dharma' i.e. 'law and custom'

Though a portion of this work was published as isolated articles in different oriental journals, I have considerably improved the whole work, including the published portion, by adding much new material and, in a few cases, by modifying my views already expressed in those articles.

DACCA

February, 1940.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

ABBREVIATIONS.

ABORI	= Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
Adbhs	= Adbhuta-sāgara (of Ballālasena)
Ag	= Agni-purāna
AnSS	= Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona)
Apas	= Āpastamba-dharmasūtra
App	= Appendix or Appendices, as the case may be
ASB	= Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
ASI	= Archæological Survey of India.
Bd	= Brahmānda-purāna.
Bhāg	= Bhāgavata-purāna.
Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc.	= R G Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems.
Bhav	= Bhavīsyā-purāna
Bibl Ind. Ser.	= Bibliotheca Indica Series
Bnār	= Brhannāradya-purāna.
Bod. Cat., or Bodleian Cata- logue	= Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Biblio- thecae Bodleianae.
Br	= Brahma-purāna.
BSOS	= Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
Bv	= Brahmavivarta-purāna.
Chap. or chaps.	= Chapter or chapters.
CHI	= The Cambridge History of India.
Com.	= Commentary.
Corp. Inscr. Ind.	= Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Dbh	= Devibhāgavata-purāna.
D. U. Mss Lib.	= Dacca University Manuscripts Library.
Ed.	= Edition.
Ep. Ind.	= Epigraphia Indica.
ERE	= Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.
Farquhar, Out- line	= J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India.
Faus.	= Fausbøll's Jātaka.
Fick, Social Organisation	= Richard Fick, Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time.
Fol.	= Folio or folios.
Gaut.	= Gautama-dharmasūtra.
Gṛ	= Garuḍa-purāna.

Hv	=	Harivamśa.
IHQ	=	Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta)
Ind Ant	=	Indian Antiquary
Ind Off Cat, or India Office Catalogue	=	A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the the Library of the India Office, London
JASB	=	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	=	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBORS	=	Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society
JAOS	=	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	=	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Kane, Hist of Dhs	=	P V Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra
Kh	=	Khanda
Kūr	=	Kūrma-purāna
Lg	=	Linga-purāna
Macdonell, Skt Lit	=	A A Macdonell, A History of Sanskrit Literature.
Mārka	=	Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna
Mat	=	Matsya-purāna
Mbh	=	Mahābhārata
McCrindle, An- cient India	=	J W McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.
Ms, Mss	=	Manuscript, Manuscripts
Nār	=	Nāradya-purāna
P.; -p.	=	Purāna, -purāna
Pargiter, AIHT	=	F E Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition
Pd	=	Padma-purāna.
Rapson, Cat of Ind Coins in the Brit. Mus.	=	E J Rapson, A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum.
S.B.E	=	Sacred Books of the East.
Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB	=	Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Shastri and Gui, Cat. of Sans. Mss, Cal. Sans. Coll.	=	Hrishikesh Shastri and Siva Chandra Gui, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Sanskrit College.
Śiv	=	Śiva-purāna.
Sk	=	Skanda-purāna.
Smith, EHI	=	V. A. Smith, The Early History of India including Alexander's Campaigns. Fourth edition.

Tirtha-c.	=	Tirtha-cintāmani (of Vācaspatiśra).
Uś -saṃ.	=	Uśanas-saṃhitā.
Vā	=	Vāyu-purāna
Vām	=	Vāmana-purāna
Vanga.	=	Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta).
Var	=	Varāha-purāna.
Venk.	=	Venkateśvara Press (Bombay)
Vis	=	Viṣṇu-purāna
Viśnudh	=	Viśnudharmottara
Wilson, Essays	=	H. H Wilson, Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological
Winternitz,		
Ind. Lit.	=	M Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature.
Yāj.	=	Yājñavalkya or Yājñavalkya-smṛiti (as the case may be)

PART I

CHAPTER I

THE MAHĀPURĀNAS

The only species of Indian literature, which can claim, next to the Vedas, to reach back to great antiquity, is the 'Purāna'¹. It is mentioned, mostly in connection with Itihāsa, in such early works as the Atharva-veda², Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa³, Gopatha-brāhmaṇa⁴, Jaiminiya-upanishad-brāhmaṇa⁵, Brhadāranyaka-upanishad⁶, Chāndogya-upanishad⁷, Taittirīya-āraṇyaka⁸, Sāṅkhyāyana-śrautasūtra⁹ and Gautama-dharmasūtra¹⁰.

According to the Brahmanical traditions as recorded in the Atharva-veda and the Brhadāranyaka-upanishad, the 'Purāna' has as much a sacred origin as the Vedas. The former says that the R̥cs, the Samans, the Metres and the Purāna originated from the residue of the sacrifice together with the Yajus¹¹. The latter, on the other hand, ascribes the origin of the four Vedas, Itihāsa, Purāna etc. to the breath of Mahābhūta¹². These traditions, though fundamentally different, are unanimous in their recognition of the sacredness of the 'Purāna'. In many of the works of the Vedic literature, the 'Purāna' is even called the fifth Veda¹³. This traditionally sacred character has been retained by the literature even to the present day; but it

¹ For the antiquity of the 'Purāna', see Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes (Calcutta), III, Part 2, pp. 7 f.

² XI, 7, 24 and XV, 6, 4.

³ XIII, 4, 3, 13; XI, 5, 6, 8 and 7, 9.

⁴ I, 10.

⁵ I, 53.

⁶ II, 4, 10; IV, 1, 2 and 5, 11.

⁷ III, 4, 1 and 2; VII, 1, 2 and 4; VII, 2, 1 and 7, 1.

⁸ II, 9.

⁹ XVI, 2, 27.

¹⁰ VIII, 6 and XI, 19.

¹¹ *ṛcaḥ sāmāni chandāmsi purānam yajusā saha | ucchistāj jagnire.....|*

Atharva-veda, XI, 7, 24.

¹²mahato bhūtasya m̐vasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yaṇur-vedah sāmavedo
'tharvāṅgirasa itihāsaḥ purānam| Brhadāranyaka, II, 4, 10

¹³ Cf. Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, Chāndogya-upanishad, Sāṅkhyāyana-śrautasūtra, etc.

never attained the position of 'Śruti', being always recognised as 'Smṛti'.

Though the theory of the existence of a single original Purāṇa is open to serious doubts, it can hardly be denied that more Purāṇas than one had come into existence long before the beginning of the Christian era. In the Samhitās of Manu and Yājñavalkya¹⁴ and in the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka¹⁵, the word 'Purāṇa' has been used in the plural number; the Mahābhārata speaks of a 'Purāṇa' proclaimed by Vāyu¹⁶, and the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra has a passage quoted from a 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa'¹⁷. The self-contradicting title 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' given to a distinct work of the Purāṇa literature indicates that in Āpastamba's time 'the term Purāṇa had become so thoroughly specialised as to have lost its proper meaning, and had become merely the designation of a particular class of books. It would have required the existence of a number of books called Purāṇas to produce that change, and manifestly they must have had their own special names to distinguish from one another, and so convert their common title Purāṇa into a class designation'¹⁸. Hence it can be held that the number of the Purāṇas had begun to be multiplied even before the time of Āpastamba.

The existence of more Purāṇas than one in Āpastamba's time or earlier does not, however, mean that the canon of 'eighteen Mahāpurāṇas'¹⁹ came into vogue at such an early period. As a matter of fact this canon can scarcely be dated earlier than the third century A.D.²⁰. There is, of course, mention of 'eighteen Purāṇas' in the Svargārohana-parvan(5,45 & 46 & 6, 97) of the Mahābhārata,

¹⁴ Manu III, 232—*svādhyāyam śrāvayet pitrye purāṇāni kṛtūṃ ca* || Yāj III, 189—*yato vedāḥ purāṇāni vidyopaniśadas tathā* etc
¹⁵ II, 9— * * * * *utthāsa-purāṇāni*.

¹⁶ Mbh III, 191, 16

¹⁷ Āpas II, 24, 5-6

¹⁸ Pargiter, AIHT, pp 50-51.

¹⁹ The name 'Mahāpurāṇa' is of late origin. It is found only in Bhāg XII, 7 and Bv IV, 131. What are now known as Mahāpurāṇas, are called simply Purāṇas in the earlier works.

²⁰ Of the *earliest* of the extant Purāṇas, the Viṣṇu (III, 6) and the Mārkaṇḍeya (chap. 137) contain lists of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. Though the former Purāṇa is to be dated between 100 and 350 A.D., and most probably in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century (see under Viṣṇu-purāṇa below), there is sufficient reason to hold that the list of the Mahāpurāṇas in Viṣ III, 6 was revised to its present form in later days, or that verses 21-26 (on the names of the eighteen Purāṇas and their five characteristics) were interpolated, especially when we take into consideration Viṣ III, 6, 20 which says that the Viṣṇu-purāṇa was based on the four Purāṇa-samhitās compiled by Romaharsana, Akṛtābraṇa, Sāvarni and Śāmsapāvana. The list, however, must be dated earlier than Alberūni who gives it in his account of India.

and on the strength of this mention scholars have sometimes tried to assign the canon to a very early date²¹. But an examination of the text of the Svargārohana-parvan as occurring in the Bengal Mss as well as in the printed editions of the Mahābhārata, shows that the portions in which 'eighteen Purāṇas' have been mentioned are in all probability later additions. Svargārohana-parvan 5, 46 (Vanga. ed.), which corresponds to the same verse in the Bombay ed., is found neither in the ASB ed. nor in any one of about a dozen Bengal Mss which we have consulted in this connection in the Dacca University Library. Svargārohana-parvan, chap. 6 also, though found both in the ASB and Bombay editions, does not occur in the Bengal Mss. At the close of the Vangavāsī ed. of the Mahābhārata the commentator Nilakantha says that this chapter, which begins with the verse '*bhagavan kena vidhinā*' and in which the merits of listening to the Mahābhārata and the gifts to be made to the reader of its Parvans have been described, was transferred from the Harivamśa to the Mahābhārata for the encouragement of the audience of the latter²². The validity of this information supplied by Nilakantha is fully realised when we see that Svargārohana-parvan, chap. 6 is the same as Hv III, 132, 1-97 and 135, 2b to the end, and that in this chapter of the Svargārohana-parvan the gifts to be made to the reader of the Harivamśa also are described along with those of the other Parvans of the Mahābhārata. This is certainly against the proper order of things, for if, as the enumeration of the Parvans in this chapter shows, the Harivamśa constitutes the eighteenth book of the Mahābhārata, then the results of listening to the whole epic cannot be described in the book previous to the eighteenth. Hence there can scarcely be any doubt regarding the spuriousness of Svargārohana-parvan, chap. 6.

The second mention of 'eighteen Purāṇas' is found in verse 3 of Hv III, 135. Though this chapter is found to be one of the two sources of chap. 6 of the Svargārohana-parvan, it is very doubtful whether it can be placed as early as about 400 A.D., the probable date of the Harivamśa. This chapter is not found in many of the Bengal Mss of the Harivamśa²³.

Mārk 137 (on Purāṇa-māhātmya) does not occur in all the editions. Hence its authenticity is extremely doubtful.

Vā 104 also contains a list of the Purāṇas, but we shall see later (under Vāmana-purāṇa) that this chapter was added very late to the Vāyu

For the date of Mat 53 which also contains a list, see under Matsya-purāṇa.

²¹ Macdonell, Skt. Lit., p. 289. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 22. IHQ, Vol VIII, p. 761.

²² *bhagavannityādih phalādhyayo vyāsena harivamśānte uktaḥ, atra srotr-parrocānārtham ukta iti jñeyam*

²³ For instance, cf. Mss No. 508 (dated 1549 Śaka), No. 514A (dated 1765 Śaka), No. 1041 and No. 1718 in the Dacca University Mss Library.

In spite of the little value which can be attached to the mention of 'eighteen Purāṇas' in the Mahābhārata and the Harivamśa, it can hardly be doubted that the canon originated not later than the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. In Mat 53 the eighteen Purāṇas have been named, and it will be seen afterwards that the date of this chapter (especially except verses 59-63) is to be placed between 550 and 650 A.D. Gauḍapāda, in his Sāmkhyakārikā-bhāṣya, uses the word '*purāṇa*' in the plural number to mean distinct Purāṇic works²⁴, and, in his Uttaragītā-bhāṣya, explains the word (*purāṇa*) occurring in chap. 2 of the Gītā, as '*purāṇāni brahmāṇḍādīni*'²⁵. This word '*brahmāṇḍādīni*' betrays Gauḍapāda's acquaintance with the eighteen Purāṇas. That the word *brahmāṇḍādīni* was used, as much as *brāhmādīni*, to mean the group of the eighteen Purāṇas, is evidenced by Sāyanācārya who explains the word *purāṇa*, occurring in the Taittirīya-āranyaka (II, 9), as '*purāṇāni brahmāṇḍādīni*' in his Bhāṣya on the same. Sāyana's knowledge of the group of the eighteen Purāṇas can by no means be denied.

It is not known definitely of what the Purāṇas in their earliest form treated. A very old definition, contained in the famous lexicon Amarakoṣa and in most of the extant Purāṇas, says that a Purāṇa is to have five characteristics: (1) creation (Sarga), (2) re-creation (Pratisarga), (3) genealogy (Vaṃśa, of gods and sages), (4) cosmic cycles (Manvantara), and (5) accounts of royal dynasties (Vaṃśā-nucarita). All these characteristics have their roots in the materials, viz., Ākhyānas (tales), Upākhyānas (anecdotes), Gāthās (songs) and Kalpajuktis (lore that had come down through ages), which, as the Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu and Viṣṇu say, were used by Vyāsa in compiling

²⁴ *tatra bāhyam nāma vedāḥ śikṣā-kalpa-vyākaraṇa-nirukta-cchando-jyotiśākhyā-ṣaḍaṅga-sahitāḥ purāṇāni nyāya-mīmāṃsā-dharmaśāstrāṇi ceti.* —Sāmkhya-kārikā with Gauḍapāda-bhāṣya (ed. Pandit Bechanarāma Tripathī, Benares Sanskrit Series, No. 9, Benares 1905), p. 16.

²⁵ Uttaragītā, p. 52.

In the Bombay edition of the Uttaragītā with Gauḍapāda-bhāṣya (ed. Mahādeva Sarman and published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay 1912) the reading is '*purāṇāni bra(ā?)hmādīni*'.

In the D. U. Mss Lib. there are two Mss, Nos. 4504 and K558E, of the Uttaragītā-bhāṣya. Of these, the former, which is concise and is written in a terse style smacking of an early date, reads '*purāṇāni brāhmādīni*'. The latter Ms, on the other hand, says in its post-colophon statement that it was copied at Benares and brought from there by post. It is comparatively elaborate, agrees more with the printed editions than with the other Ms, and reads '*purāṇāni brahmāṇḍādīni*'.

Regarding Gauḍapāda's authorship of the Bhāṣya, S. K. Belvalkar says: "We can, for the present, only assert that there is nothing, so far discovered, in these two commentaries (i.e., the Sāmkhyakārikā-vṛtti and the Uttaragītā-vṛtti) that necessarily militates against the traditional identification of their author with the author of the Māṇḍukya Kārikā". See, Belvalkar, Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta, 1925, p. 189.

the original Purāna²⁶. These characteristics, therefore, indicate the real nature of the Purānas in their early, if not the earliest, form. In most of the present Purānas, on the other hand, the five characteristics have been neglected partially or totally and great importance has been given to matters religious and social. In those few Purānas also, in which the five topics have been dealt with, there are to be found chapters on social customs and glories of gods. Thus, the present Purānas have practically turned into Smṛti-codes. This new form the Purānas do not seem to have attained before the beginning of the Christian era. The few passages quoted in the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra from a Purāna and a Bhaviṣyat-purāna cannot be made the basis of the statement that Smṛti-matter began to be imported into the Purānas in Āpastamba's time. These passages are most probably Gāthās, or summaries thereof, which were current among the people in ancient times and received admission into the Purānas especially in connection with the patriarchs. That at least some of the ancient Gāthās were concerned with Smṛti-matter is evidenced not only by the Purānas²⁷ and the Mahābhārata but also by the Manu-smṛti which refers to one sung by Vāyu²⁸. The fact that Manu incorporates the verses found in Āpas I, 19, 13 without calling them Gāthās is not very important, because in several other cases also Manu is found to insert verses, not of his own composition, without naming the sources. For instance, Manu II, 94 (*na jātu kāmah kāmūnām*) occurs in the Purānas as spoken by Yayāti who became tired of worldly enjoyment²⁹, and Manu III, 274a (*api nah sa kule jāyāt*) is found in some Purānas as a part of a Gāthā sung by the patriarchs³⁰. There are also numerous other references to the Purāna literature in the works of the pre-Christian era, but nowhere there is any reference to its Smṛti-contents.

On the other hand, there are evidences to show that the Purānas began to incorporate matters on Hindu rites and customs from a period earlier than the sixth century A.D. Medhātithi quotes in his Bhāṣya on the Manu-smṛti a number of verses from the Purānas. Though the majority of these verses are concerned with creation, philosophy etc., a few of them relate definitely to Smṛti. These

²⁶ *ākhyānais cāpyupākhyānair gāthābhīḥ kalpajoktibhīḥ purāna-samhitām cakre purāṇārtha-viśāradah* Bḍ II, 34, 21; Vā 60, 21; and Viṣ III, 6, 16.

The last two Purānas differ slightly in readings from the first. Also cf. Vā 103, 51; 104, 20

²⁷ See, for example, Mārka 29, 43-46.

²⁸ Manu IX, 42—*atra gāthā vāyu-gītāḥ* etc.

²⁹ Viz., Mat 34, 10; Viṣ IV, 10, 9; Hv I, 30, 33; and so on.

³⁰ Cf. Bḍ III 19, 9 f.

latter verses testify to the fact that the Purāṇas in Medhātithi's time contained chapters on holy places, funeral sacrifices, etc.³¹. Kumārilabhaṭṭa, in his *Tantravārttika*, looks upon the Purāṇas as authoritative works on Dharma and names them along with the *Dharmaśāstras*³². The *Hārīta-samhitā*³³ says that the *Anadhyāya* days should be known from the *Smṛti* works as well as the Purāṇas³⁴. An old Ms of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, discovered in Nepal by Haraprasad Shastri, contains several sections on hells and one on the method of worshipping the god (Śiva)³⁵. *Vijñāneśvara* tells us of *Hārīta's* reference to the opinion of the Purāṇas in prescribing penance, in normal circumstances, to those who eat up the food dedicated to the patriarchs³⁶. The date of the *Hārīta-smṛti* used by *Vijñāneśvara* cannot be later than the sixth century A.D.³⁷. The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that topics on Hindu rites and customs began to be dealt with in the Purāṇas from a period not later than the middle of the fourth century A.D. As a result, the Purāṇas came gradually to lose their original character and turn into important codes of Hindu rites and customs by including chapters on *Varnāśramadharma*, *Ācāra*, *Śrāddha*, *Prāyaścitta*, *Dāna*, *Pūjā*, *Vrata*, *Tīrtha*, *Pitasthā*, *Dikṣā*, *Utsarga*, etc.

But in the great majority of cases the Purāṇas have not come down to us with their early incorporations, because tradition demanded that they should be re-edited with the changes in society so that their importance as works of authority might not decrease³⁸. Now, the work of re-editing could be done in three ways : viz., (i) by

³¹ Cf. *Medhātithi* on *Manu* II, 24; III, 124 & 232, etc.

As *Medhātithi* does not expressly name any Purāṇa, the Purāṇic verses quoted by him should not be used in determining the dates of the extant Purāṇas even in those cases where they are traceable. Cf. footnote 31 (under *Viṣṇu-p*).

³² Kane, *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 102

Tantravārttika, p. 179—*purāṇa-mānavetiḥāsa-vyatikṛta-gautama-vasiṣṭha
baudhāyanādi-pranīta-dharmaśāstrāṇām* . . . etc.

³³ *Unavimsati Samhitā*, pp. 127-139. It is called *Laghuhārīta-smṛti* in *Jivānanda Vidyāśāgara's* collection of *Dharmaśāstras*, Vol. I, pp. 177-193.

³⁴ *Hārīta-samhitā* IV, 70

³⁵ H. P. Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf and Selected Paper Mss* belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Calcutta, 1905, pp. 111, 141 f. The Ms, which is written in old Gupta script, has been assigned to the seventh century A. D. by Shastri and C. Bendall.

³⁶ *Vijñāneśvara* on *Yāj* III, 239.

³⁷ Kane, *Hist. of Dhs.*, Vol. I, pp. 75 and 246.

³⁸ Cf. *Mat* 53, 8-9 wherein the Fish says to Manu :

*kālenāgrahaṇam dṛṣṭvā purāṇasya tato nrpa|
vyāsa-rūpam aham kṛtā samharāmi yuge yuge||*

Cf. also *Pd* (*Śṛṣṭi-khanda*) I, 49-50; *Dbh* I, 3, 20;

Sk V, iii, 1, 26-28; and so on.

adding fresh chapters to the already existing ones, (ii) by substituting the latter by the former, and (iii) by writing new works bearing old titles. All these processes being equally practised with respect to the Purāṇas, some retained their earlier materials, some lost many of the earlier chapters which were replaced by others of later dates, and some became totally new works. But they had a common feature in that all of them came to have units belonging to different ages. It should be mentioned here that the fresh additions to the Purāṇas were not always fresh compositions, but chapters and verses were often transferred from one Purāṇa to another or from the Smṛti and other works to the Purāṇas, obviously to enrich the latter. That this practice of transference began much earlier than 1100 A.D. is evidenced by Ballālasena who says that the Līṅga-p. took its chapters on the big donations (Mahādāna) from the Matsya, and that the Viṣṇu-rahasya and Śiva-rahasya were mere compilations³⁹.

The great importance given to the Purāṇas as authoritative works on Hindu rites and customs perverted the idea of the people of later ages as to the real contents of these works. It was thought that the five characteristics—creation, re-creation etc.—were meant for the Upapurāṇas, whereas the Mahāpurāṇas were to have not less than ten characteristics relating to cosmogony, religion and society⁴⁰. Consequently, the accounts of the genealogies of kings and sages were little cared for, and often fabricated⁴¹; and sections on holy places etc. were composed by different people at different times and freely attached to the Purāṇas as their integral parts, so that the extents of these works varied⁴². People also took absolute liberty in making changes in the texts of the Purāṇas. Consequently, textual corruptions increased hopelessly. Of such corruptions, the Vāyu is the best example.

³⁹ 'brhad api līṅga-purāṇam matsya-purāṇoditair mahādānuih' and 'loke prasīdham etad viṣṇu-rahasyam ca śiva-rahasyam ca| dvayam iha na paṇigṛhitam samgraha-rūpatvam avadhārya||' Dānasāgara, fol 3b

⁴⁰ Cf Bv IV, 131, 6-10 Also, Bhāg II, 9, 43; II, 10, 1, and XII, 7, 8 f

⁴¹ Cf 'mṛśāvamsānucartaiḥ * * * '—Dānasāgara, fol. 4a

⁴² For instance, according to the Matsya, the Kūrma-p consisted of 18,000 verses; according to the Agni, of 8,000 verses; and according to the Nāradya, of 17,000 verses. According to the Matsya and Skanda, the Varāha-p contained 24,000 verses, whereas the Agni gives its extent as consisting of 14,000 verses only.

An examination of the quotations made by the commentators and Nibandha-kāras from the Purāṇas shows that even at a particular period of time the extent and contents of a particular Purāṇa were more or less different in different parts of India.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PURĀNIC CHAPTERS ON HINDU RITES AND CUSTOMS

THE MAJOR PURĀṆAS

It has been said in the previous chapter that from an early date the Purāṇas grew up into important codes of Hindu rites and customs, and that they came to contain chapters or groups of chapters which often belonged to different dates. Hence the chronology of these chapters is of immense importance for tracing the course of the changes that took place in Hindu society earlier than the time of the Smṛti-Nibandhas.

Any attempt at determining the chronology of the Smṛti-chapters means a detailed study of all the eighteen Purāṇas, and this has been done as far as possible in this and the following two chapters. Of these, the present chapter includes the major Purāṇas, viz., Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Bhāgavata and Kūrma, which are of earlier dates and have preserved much of their older materials; chapter III comprises the minor Purāṇas, *i.e.*, those which, being subjected to the interfering hands of the later redactors, have lost their earlier forms and contents; and chapter IV embodies the results arrived at in chapters II and III.

We shall now proceed to analyse the Purāṇas.

1 THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA-PURĀṆA :

This is one of the oldest and most important of the extant Purāṇas. It commences with Jaimini, a pupil of Vyāsa, who approaches the sage Mārkaṇḍeya for the solution of some doubts raised in his mind by the study of the Mahābhārata. For want of sufficient time Mārkaṇḍeya does not answer the questions put to him by Jaimini but refers the latter to the four wise birds living on the Vindhya. This beginning of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa agrees with its description given in the Matsya, which says : "That Purāṇa in which, in reply to the Muni, the duties and non-duties have been explained by the holy sages in connection with the birds and which,

again, is narrated fully by Mārkaṇḍeya is called the Mārkaṇḍeya (-purāṇa), containing 9,000 verses"¹.

Though this Purāṇa is generally true to the old definition of the Purāṇa of five characteristics, it contains a few chapters on topics which come within the description of Dharma; viz., chaps. 12 and 14 dealing with hells (Naraka), chap. 15 with the results of actions done (Karma-vipāka), chaps. 28-29 with the duties of the castes and Āśramas, chaps. 30-33 with funeral sacrifices, chap. 34 with customs in general (Ācāra), and chap. 35 with eatables and non-eatables².

Mārkaṇḍeya 28-35 form parts of the story of Alarka and Madālasā which is interwoven in the story of Sumati (also called Jada) and his father Mahāmāti (in Mārkaṇḍeya 10-44). This story of Sumati and his father is a lengthy amplification of the dialogue between Medhāvī and his father found in one of the latest books of the Mahābhārata (viz., XII, 175 and 276). Hence it can be supposed that the story of Sumati (or Jada) was put into the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. after the Mahābhārata had attained its final form. This supposition is strengthened by the information, regarding the nature of the contents of the Mahābhārata, that is supplied by the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. in chap. 1, wherein Jaimini approaches the sage Mārkaṇḍeya for the solution of the doubts. Before giving expression to these, Jaimini praises the Mahābhārata as :

... sarva-śāstrāṇāṃ mahābhārataṃ uttamam||
atrārthaś caiva dharmas ca kāmō mokṣas ca varṇyate||
parasparānubandhaś ca sāmānyabandhaś ca te prthak||
dharmasāstraṃ idam, śreṣṭhaṃ arthasāstraṃ idam param||
kāmasāstraṃ idam, jāgryaṃ mokṣasāstraṃ tathottamam||
caturāśrama-dharmāṇāṃ ācāra-sṭhiti-sādhanaṃ||

(Mārkaṇḍeya 1, 5b-8a).

From this it is clear that at the time of composition of at least Mārkaṇḍeya 1, 1-22 the Mahābhārata came to be regarded as the best Dharmaśāstra, the greatest Arthaśāstra, the foremost Kāmasāstra and the highest Mokṣasāstra. A comparison between Mārkaṇḍeya 34 (dealing with customs in general) and Mbh XIII, 104 also shows

¹ yatradhikṛtya śakunīṇa dharmādharma-vicāraṇā||
vyākhyātā vai munīḥ praśne munibhir dharmacāribhiḥ||
mārkaṇḍeyena kathitaṃ tat sarvaṃ vistareṇa tu||
purāṇaṃ nava-sāhasraṃ mārkaṇḍeyaṃ ihocyate|| Mat 53, 25-26.

² These chapters correspond to chaps. 12, 14, 15 and 28-35 in the editions of Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara and the Bibl. Ind. Ser., and to chaps. 12, 14, 15 and 25-32 in the Venk. ed. Though there are variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters of the different editions, they are not many and important for our purpose.

that the former has the latter as its prototype³. Mbh XIII, 104 has many lines borrowed from the Code of Manu; the style is often defective and elaborate; and the contents are not arranged properly. In Mārķ 34, on the other hand, plagiarism has been avoided as far as practicable, and the subject-matter, though changed at places, has been dealt with in an improved and terse style. The few lines of Manu, which have been retained, have not escaped changes more or less. The readings of these lines, when compared with those occurring in Mbh XIII, 104 and the Code of Manu, show that the Mahābhārata approaches more the Code of Manu than the Mārķandeya-p. does.

From what has been said above it seems highly probable that the story of Sumati was inserted into the Mārķandeya-p. after the great epic had attained its present extent, content and character. Regarding the approximate dates of the different strata in the Mahābhārata Hopkins says: "We may tentatively assume as approximate dates of the whole work in its different stages. Bhārata (Kuru) lays, perhaps combined into one, but with no evidence of an epic before 400 B.C. A Mahābhārata tale with Pāṇḍu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Purāṇic diaskeuasts, Kṛṣṇa as a demi-god (no evidence of didactic form or of Kṛṣṇa's divine supremacy), 400-200 B.C. Remaking of the epic with Kṛṣṇa as all-god, intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of Purāṇic material old and new, multiplication of exploits, 200 B.C. to 100-200 A.D. The later books added with the introduction to the first book, the swollen Anuśāsana separated from Śānti and recognised as a separate book, 200 to 400 A.D.; and finally 400 A.D. + occasional amplifications"⁴. On the strength of this tentative chronological scheme, which is the most acceptable of all that have been put forth, we may hold in the present state of our knowledge that the story of Sumati as found in the Mārķandeya-p. cannot possibly be earlier than 200 A.D.

The story of Sumati, including that of Alarka, extends over Mārķ 10-44, and at the beginning of chapter 45 Jaimini praises the birds saying:

samyag etan mamākhyātam bhavadbhir dviṣa-sattamāḥ|
pravṛttiś ca nivṛttiś ca dvividhaṁ karma vaidikam||

* * * * *

pravṛtte ca nivṛtte ca bhavatām jñāna-karmani|
matim asta-malām manye yathā nūnyasya kasyacit||

* * * * *

³ Cf. Mbh XIII, 104, verses 16, 20b-21, 23, 37, 41, 48a, 51b-52a, 59a etc with Mārķ 34, verses 17, 61b, 62b-63a, 21, 47b, 48b, 50b, 52b-53a, 24b etc.

⁴ Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, pp. 397-398 and 398-402.

These references to Pravṛtti- and Nivṛtti-dharma certainly point to chapters 27-35 dealing with Pravṛtti-dharma and to chapters 39-43 dealing with Nivṛtti-dharma or Yoga. Now, chap 45, which glorifies Brahmā as unborn, imperishable, changeless, incomparable (*anaupamyā*) etc and thus identifies him with the supreme Brahman of the Upanisads, certainly belongs to the Brahmā-sect. The opinion of scholars that the sect of Brahmā became prominent during the period ranging from 200 to 600 A.D. and that the five-gods of the Smārtas threw Brahmā into the back-ground towards the beginning of the seventh century⁵, tends to show that the chapters dealing with Pravṛtti- and Nivṛtti-dharma cannot possibly be later than the seventh century A.D.

In relation to the effect of performing funeral sacrifices under different Tithis and Naksatras, the latter are mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharanī in Mūk 33, 8 ff. This order of the Naksatras is important. We know from the evidence of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti⁶ and the latest books of the Mahābhārata⁷ that the old arrangement of the Naksatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Naksatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A.D. that we find in the Brhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira the order of the Naksatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So it can be held, and not quite unreasonably, that the old order of the Naksatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D. Hence those chapters of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., which treat of Hindu customs and Yoga, cannot possibly be later than the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

Mārk 33, 8 ff., which describe the results of performing funeral sacrifices under different Naksatras, *seem to have been added later than the other chapters on Hindu customs*, because in Mārka 32, 38 (*kāmyānām śrūyatām vatsa śrāddhānām tithi-kīrtanam*), which points to the subject-matter of the chapter to follow, there is no mention of the Naksatras. If a gap of at least fifty years be allowed

⁵ Farquhar, Outline, pp 148 and 179-180.

Cf. also Brhat-saṃhitā, chapters 58 (*pratimā-lakṣaṇam nāma*) and 60 (*pratimā-sthāpanam nāma*), wherein there are rules for the construction and erection of the image of Brahmā, thus proving the wide spread of the worship of the god in Varāhamihira's time.

⁶ I, 268—*kṛttikādi-bharanyantam*. In Kane's opinion the Yājñavalkya-smṛti was composed between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. See Kane, Hist. of Dh., Vol. I, p 184.

⁷ Viz., XIII, 64 wherein the Naksatras are mentioned in connection with the effect of making gifts under these; XIII, 89 which describes the results of performing the Kāmya-śrāddha under different Naksatras; and XIII, 110.

between this portion of Mārka 33 and the other chapters, then the lower limit of the date of composition of these chapters (28-35, except 33, 8 ff) should be pushed up to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

Here a question may arise as to whether all the Smṛti-chapters (except 33, 8 ff.) of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p were inserted simultaneously. Such a doubt is removed by the fact that when, in Mārka 26, Madālasā is about to give instructions on self-knowledge (Ātma-jñāna) to the new-born Alarka, king Ṛtadhvaja forbids her saying, "Why dost thou deal thus, O foolish one, with the temperament of my child, by giving him a mischievous education as thou didst before to my other sons. If thou shouldst do what pleases me, if my word should be accepted, then restrain this son within the path of activity (*mārge pravṛttech*). So the path of action will not lead to utter destruction, O lady; and so the Pinda offering to the Pitrs will not cease, O virtuous one. The Pitrs dwell in the Deva-loka, they are also born as brutes, they become men likewise, and they reside within the class of elements. By offering the Pinda and water a man, busied in the ceremonies, ever nourishes them, O fine-browed one, both the righteous and the unrighteous, those worn out with hunger, those harassed by thirst; he nourishes the gods likewise and guests. The gods, mankind, the Pitrs, departed spirits, goblins, and Guhyakas, birds, worms and insects live upon man indeed. Therefore, O slender-limbed, cause my son to acquire thoroughly the whole duty of Kṣatriyas, as regards this life and life in the next world". This request of the king to his wife Madālasā to give instructions to Alarka about the duties of Kṣatriyas and to train him in the Pravṛtti-mārga so that the Pitrs may not be deprived of the offerings of water and rice-balls and the gods, men and lower animals may get their respective shares, presupposes the instructions on the duties of kings, on the duties of the castes and Āśramas, and on funeral sacrifices given by Madālasā to Alarka in chaps. 27-35.

From the above discussion it appears that Mārka 28-35 (except 33, 8 to the end) were inserted some time about the third and fourth centuries A.D. It is highly probable that these chapters were added in the third century.

Chapters 12, 14 and 15 also, forming parts of the story of Sumati, should be assigned to the above date.

The above conclusion about the date of the chapters under discussion agrees remarkably with the view of Pargiter, who says: "The Devī-māhātmya, the latest part, was certainly complete in the 9th century and very probably in the 5th or 6th century A.D. The third and fifth parts (i.e., chaps. 45-81 and 93-136 respectively), which constituted the original Purāṇa, were very probably in exist-

ence in the third century, and perhaps even earlier; and the first and second parts (i.e., chaps. 1-9 and 10-44 respectively) were composed between those two periods"⁸.

The Smṛti-chapters of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p have been frequently drawn upon by the commentators and the Nibandhakāras. For instance, Aparārka quotes numerous verses from chaps. 11, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 39 and 40 in his commentary on Yāj.; Ballālasena from chaps. 43 and 58 in his Adbhutasāgara and from chaps. 10 and 16 in his Dānasāgara; Devanabhaṭṭa from chaps. 29-35 in his Smṛti-candrikā; Hemādri from chaps 15-16, 29-35, 46, 49, 57, 88 and 95-97 in his Caturvarga-cintāmani; and so forth (see App.).

There are lines in the Smṛti-chapters of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. which have their parallels in the Code of Manu. For example, Mārkaṇḍeya 29, 29a; 29, 33a; 34, 8; and 34, 17 and 24 may be compared to Manu III, 102b and 82a; and IV, 156b-157a, 92, 56a and 78a.

2. THE VĀYU-PURĀṆA :

The Vāyu is perhaps the oldest of the extant Purāṇas⁹. The Mahābhārata (III, 191, 16) speaks of a 'Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu'; the Harivaṃśa (I, 7, 13 and 25) refers to 'Vāyu' as an authority; Bāṇabhaṭṭa says in his Harṣa-carita that he attended the reading of the Vāyu-p. in his native village¹⁰; and Alberūnī repeatedly quotes and names a Vāyu-p. in his account of India¹¹.

The character of the Vāyu as a Mahāpurāṇa has sometimes been called in question¹². The cause of this doubt is the use of the title 'Śiva' or 'Śaiva' for 'Vāyaviya' in the majority of the lists of the 'eighteen Mahāpurāṇas'¹³. But this substitution, which has

⁸ Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (English translation), Introduction, p. XX.

⁹ The word 'oldest' is applicable only to the main skeleton of the work, because this Purāṇa also, like the others, was subjected to later additions and alterations. As an example, chap. 104 may be cited. This chapter mentions Rādhā, the Tantras, and the Śākta philosophy. Mr. Dikshitar rightly says that 'the Purāṇa compilation extended over a number of centuries'.

¹⁰ Harṣa-carita, chap. III, (*pavamāna-proktam purāṇam papāṭha*).

¹¹ Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, pp. 41-42, 136, 168, 194 247, 287 etc.

¹² Narasiṃha Vajapeyin includes the 'Vāyu-p.' among the Upapurāṇas.—See Nityācārapradīpa, p. 19. In his com. on the Bhāgavata-purāṇa Śrīdhara Svāmī explains the word *śaivaka* as 'Śiva-purāṇa'.—See his com. on Bhāg XII, 13, 4. Mitra Miśra recognises the Śaiva as a Mahāpurāṇa and says: '*yā'pi viṣṇupurāṇe brahmāṇḍam ādāya vāyaviya-tyāgena, yā ca brahmavaivarte vāyaviyam upādāya brahmāṇḍapurāṇa-paritīyāgena aṣṭādaśa-samkhyā uktā sā kalpa-bhedena vyavasthāpanīyā*'.—See Viramītradaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa (ed. Parvatīya Nityānanda Śarma, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares 1906), p. 13.

¹³ See Viṣ III, 6, 21 ff.; Bhāg XII, 7, 23 ff. and XII, 13, 4 ff.; Kūr I, 1, 13 ff.; Pd I, 62, 2 ff., IV, 111, 90 ff., VI, 219, 25 ff., and VI, 263, 77 ff.: Var 112, 69 ff.; Mārka 137, 8 ff.; Lg I, 39, 61 ff.; Śiv V (Vāyaviya-saṃhitā), i, 1, 38 ff.; Śiva-

been taken wrongly in favour of the comparatively late sectarian Upapurāna called 'Śiva-purāna', is based on the Śaiva character of the Vāyu. The Skanda says "The fourth (Purāna), declared by Vāyu, is known as Vāyaviya. It is also called Śaiva on account of its connection with (i.e., treatment of) Śiva-bhakti. It contains 24,000 Ślokas"¹⁴ The description of the fourth Mahā-purāna, as given in the Matsya, Nāradiya and Agni, also agrees with the contents of the present Vāyu p¹⁵ None of the Nibandha-writers, who have drawn upon the Vāyu and the Śiva-purāna, has been found to make any confusion between the two, because the verses quoted from the 'Vāyaviya' or 'Vāyu-purāna' are, in the majority of cases, found only in the present Vāyu but not in the Śiva, and those quoted from the 'Śaiva' or 'Śiva-purāna' are sometimes traceable in the present Śiva but never in the Vāyu. That the Vāyu was more important in the eyes of at least the Nibandha-kāras is shown by the fact that almost all of them quote verses from it, whereas the Śiva-p is drawn upon by a very few of them. Hence it seems that the attempt to raise the Śiva-p. to the status

māhātmya-khanda of the Sūta-saṃhitā commented on by Mādhañcārya (Eggeling, Ind off Cat., Part VI, p 1377), Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p (Eggeling, *op cit.*, Part VI, p 1382), Sambhava-kānda of the Śivamahāsa-khanda of the Śaṃkara-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p (Eggeling, *op cit.*, Part VI, p 1363), and so forth

¹⁴ *caturtham vāyunā proktaṃ vāyaviyam iti smṛtam* |
śiva-bhakti-samāyogac chavam tac vāparāḥkhyayā ||
caturvīṃśati-samkhyātam sahasrāṇi tu śaunaka |

Sk V, III (Revā-kh), 1, 33-34a

These verses are also found in the Revā-māhātmya which claims to be a part of the Vāyu-purāna—See, Aufrecht, Bodleian Catalogue, p 65

¹⁵ See Mat 53, 18, Nār I, 95, and Ag 272, 4b-5

The mention of the Śveta-kalpa as connected with the declaration of the 'Vāyaviya' Purāna should not create any difficulty, for the Vāyu-p seems to connect itself with the Varāha-kalpa (Vā 6, 11 and 13; 7, 5, 21, 12 and 23) and to identify this Kalpa with the Śveta-kalpa (Vā 6, 13, 23, 63 ff and 114 ff). Moreover, the Nāradiya-p., whose list of contents of the 'Vāyaviya' Purāna agrees much with those of our Vāyu but not even partially with those of the Śiva, also speaks of the connection of the 'Vāyaviya' with the Śveta-kalpa. The word *bhāgadvaya-samanvita* used by the Nāradiya-p with respect to the 'Vāyaviya' should not be taken to point to the Vāyaviya-saṃhitā (of the Śiva-p.) which also consists of two Bhāgas (parts). Eggeling, in his Ind. Off. Cat., Part VI, pp. 1299-1301, describes a few Mss of a Purāna which is called *vāyuprokta-purāna* or *vāyu-purāna* in the colophons of chapters, is generally the same as our present Vāyu, and is divided into two Khaṇḍas (or Khaṇḍas) or four Pādas. The ASB edition of the Vāyu also is divided into two Bhāgas.

Of the twelve Saṃhitās of the Śiva-p. the Vāyaviya-saṃhitā only is declared by Vāyu. So, how could the words *vāyaviya*, *vāyu-prokta* etc. be applicable to the entire Śiva-p. which begins with a Saṃhitā other than the Vāyaviya?

of a Mahāpurāṇa¹⁶ was due to a comparatively late sectarian zeal¹⁷. The Devibhāgavata (I, 3, 14) and the 'Padma-p.' referred to by Gangādhara in his com. on the Dharma-samhitā of the Śiva-p.¹⁸, include the Śiva among the Upapurāṇas.

The Vāyu consists of four Pādas—(1) *Ekakriyā*, comprising chaps. 1-6, (2) *Anusanga*, chaps. 7-64, (3) *Upodghāṇi*, chaps. 65-99, and (4) *Upasamhāra*, chaps. 100 to the end. It deals with all the five topics characteristic of the old Purāṇas. Over and above these, there are a few chapters on Smṛti-matter; viz.,

chaps. 16-17	..	on the duties of the castes and Āśramas,
chap. 18	.	on the penances for Yatis,
chaps 57-59		on Yuga-dharma,
„ 73-83	.	on funeral sacrifices (including impurity due to births and deaths, and purification of things),

chap. 101	..	on hells and the results of actions done,
and chaps. 105-112		on the glories of Gayā

These chapters do not seem to have belonged to the present Vāyu in its earliest form. They are in all likelihood later additions. Of these, chaps. 16-18 are comprised in the section on Pāśupata Yoga which betrays the influence of chaps. 39-43 of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. In this section, which extends from chap. 10 (verses 68 ff.) to 20, the Vāyu has not only a good number of verses in common with the Mārkaṇḍeya¹⁹ but has also improved upon the latter with fresh additions of chapters and verses. Now, we have seen that Mārka 39-43 cannot possibly be dated earlier than 200 A.D. Therefore chaps. 16-18 of the Vāyu-p. should be dated later still. The fact that the section on Pāśupata Yoga is not found in the Brahmāṇḍa-p. tends to show that it was interpolated after 400 A.D., because, we shall see presently, the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa could not have been separated earlier than 400 A.D. Consequently, Vā 16-18 also are to be dated later than that period. As Śūlapāṇi quotes a

¹⁶ In its Vāyaviya-samhitā, the Śiva-p. lays claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa saying that the fourth Mahāpurāṇa is the Śaiva which consists of twelve Samhitās. See Śiv V, 1, 41.

¹⁷ The verse '.....vāyaviyam anuttamam| aṣṭādaśam samuddiṣṭam brahmāṇḍam iti samjñitam||' in Kūr I, 1, which includes the 'Śaiva' among the Mahāpurāṇas, should not be taken strongly in support of the early date of the Śiva-p. and its character as a Mahāpurāṇa. This verse most probably means, "That excellent (Purāṇa) proclaimed by Vāyu is enumerated as the eighteenth and is known as Brahmāṇḍa", because the Brahmāṇḍa-p. also is proclaimed by Vāyu and is called 'vāyu-prokta brahmāṇḍa' in the colophons of its chapters.

¹⁸ Shastri, Cat of Sans Mss, ASB, Vol. V, p. 289.

¹⁹ Cf Vā 16 with Mārka 41, 3 ff.; Vā 17 with Mārka 41, 18 ff.; Vā 19 with Mārka 43; and Vā 20 with Mārka 42, 5 ff.

verse from chap. 18 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka*, they are certainly earlier than 1300 A.D. None of the earlier *Nibandhakāras* being found to draw upon them, it is difficult to place the lower limit of the date at a still earlier period.

Chaps. 57-59, dealing with *Yuga-dharma*, give an account of the period ranging from the reign of the *Nandas* to the end of the *Āndhra* rule in western India (see Part II, chap. I). Therefore these chapters should not be dated earlier than 200 A.D. They were, however, written earlier than 275 A.D., because the *Matsya-p.* borrowed from the *Vāyu* a good number of chapters, including the three mentioned above, in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. (see below, under *Matsya-p.*). Of these three chapters, chap. 59 has been drawn upon by *Devanabhata* in his *Smṛti-candrikā* (see App.).

Chaps. 73-83, on *Śrāddha*, are included in the section *Śrāddha-kalpa* (covering chaps. 71-85), the greater part of which is given as an interlocution between *Brhaspati* and his son *Śamyu*. In these chapters *Yogins* have been given remarkable prominence as invited guests²⁰. It is said: “*Śrāddhas* should be carefully offered to *Yogins*.....What is eaten by an adept in *Yoga* saves one from great fear. A *Yogin* is superior to a thousand house-holders, a hundred forest-hermits and a thousand students”. Such prominence given to *Yogins* is not traceable in the *Codes of Manu* and *Yāj.*, who do not seem to have held *Yogins* in high esteem. On the other hand, *Yogins* are given great prominence in the existing *Pāñcarātra Samhitās* which are certainly later in date than the above mentioned *Codes*. It is, therefore, highly probable that the chapters on *Śrāddha* in the *Vāyu-p.* come from a date not earlier than 200 A.D. This date seems also to be supported by the hatred with which the *Nagnas* (the naked) have been mentioned in chaps. 78 and 79²¹. The word *nagna* is said to mean those people who are stripped of the garments consisting metaphorically of the *Vedas*. Such people are clearly the *Jains* and the *Buddhists*, because the terms ‘*Nirgrantha*’ and ‘*Pāṣaṇḍa*’ also have been used in these chapters of the *Vāyu*. The contempt shown to these religious sects could be possible only when their religions were in a decadent state. *Buddhism*, which found its strongest upholders in *Aśoka Maurya* and *Kaṇiṣka*, was probably in a flourishing condition to the end of the second century A.D. So the chapters of the *Vāyu* cannot possibly be earlier than that time. The mention of the *Naksatras* from *Kṛttikā* to *Bharanī* in Vā 82 points to a date earlier than 500 A.D. It is probable that the chapters under discussion were added to the *Vāyu* about the middle of the third century A.D.

²⁰ Vā 71, 50 ff.

²¹ Vā 78, 24, and 79, 25.

Most of the above mentioned chapters on Śrāddha have been drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers early and late; viz., Śūlapāṇi has quoted verses from chaps. 78 and 79 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka*; Vācaspatimiśra from chaps. 77 and 82 in his *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi*; Kullūkabhatta from chap. 78 in his com. on the *Manu-smṛti*; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 75 and 76 in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Parāśara-smṛti*; Madanapāla from chaps. 75 and 79-81 in his *Madana-pārijāta*; Sridatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 78 and 79 in his *Kṛtyācāra*; Caṇḍeśvara from chap. 81 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*; Hemādri from chaps. 73-76, 78-81 and 83 (as also from chaps. 30-31 and 71) in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*; Devanabhatta from chaps. 75 and 78-80 in his *Smṛti-candrikā*; Ballālasena from chap. 80 in his *Dānasāgara*, and from chap. 19 in his *Adbhutasāgara*; and Aparārka from chaps 74-82 in his com. on *Yāj.* (see App.).

All of the verses in Vā 73-83 do not seem to have come from the same date. Verses 14-42 of Vā 82 are most probably spurious. They do not occur in the great majority of Mss, nor are they to be found in the corresponding chapter of the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* Besides these verses, there are certainly others which were interpolated later. But it is very difficult to separate them. The fact that many of the quoted verses, especially on Śrāddha, are not found in the present *Vāyu*, proves that the *Purāṇa* has undergone serious losses also. A perusal of the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* shows that the 'Vāyu-p.,' used by Hemādri, contained a good number of chapters on big donations such as those of golden cows, silver bulls, gold, lotuses made of gold or sesamum, the image of *Sarasvatī* made of gold or silver, and the like, all these being meant for removing sins or curing diseases. This 'Vāyu-p.' dealt with *Ekādaśī* also.

Chap. 101, on hells and results of actions, probably comes from the same date as chaps. 57-59. As there is no evidence sufficient for the determination of its date, it is impossible to say anything definitely.

Chaps 105-112, on *Gayā-māhātmya*, did not really belong to the *Vāyu*. In many Mss of the *Purāṇa* this *Māhātmya* has been omitted²². On the other hand, it is often found to appear as an independent text in Mss as well as in printed editions. That this appendage was attached to the *Vāyu* earlier than 1,400 A.D., is certain, for Vācaspatimiśra quotes numerous verses from chaps. 105 and 111-112 (see App.).

3. THE BRAHMĀṆḌA-PURĀṆA :

The *Brahmāṇḍa*²³, though one of the oldest of the extant *Purāṇas*, is assigned the eighteenth place in almost all the lists of

²² See *Vāyu-p.*, p. 426, footnote.

²³ The text of the *Vaṅga*. ed. of the *Brahmāṇḍa* is almost the same as the

Mahāpurāṇas. From the facts that it has sometimes been called 'Vāyaviya Brahmānda', that it also, like the Vāyu-p, is said to have been proclaimed by Vāyu, and that its chapters often agree almost literally with those of the Vāyu, F. E. Pargiter has rightly said that originally these two Purāṇas were not separate²⁴. This view of Pargiter seems to be supported by some of the verses quoted in the Nibandhas from the 'Vāyu-p.' or 'Vāyaviya' but found only in the present Brahmānda. In a few cases, verses quoted by Ballālasena, Devanabhatta and Hemādri from the 'Brahmānda-p' are found not in the present Brahmānda but in the Vāyu (see App). This proves the original unity of the texts of the two Purāṇas.

It is not known definitely when and why the same original Purāṇa, which was named most probably after Vāyu²⁵, came to have a second version with a different title. A comparison between the dynastic accounts given in the Vāyu and Brahmānda, shows that the separation took place after 325 A.D., and most probably not earlier than 400 A.D., for the Brahmānda has not only the extended portion of the Vāyu's account of the dynasties of the Kali age but agrees very closely with the text of the present Vāyu (also see under Matsya-p.). The cause of separation may be sectarian, because in the Brahmānda there are a few chapters (viz., III, 21 ff) which smack of Vaisnavism. Or, it may be that some people gave the title 'Brahmānda' to a version of 'the great Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu'²⁶, on account of the latter's giving information about the cosmic egg.

The Brahmānda-p. contains a few chapters on Smṛti-topics. All these chapters have their parallels in the Vāyu-p; viz.,

Bd II, 29-32 (on Yuga-dharma) = Vā 57-59;
 „ III, 10, 52 to III, 23 (on Śrāddha) = „ 73-83 (except 82, 14-42);

and „ IV, 2 (on Naraka and Karma-vipāka) = „ 101.

So their dates are not different from those of the corresponding chapters of the Vāyu.

Prakṛyā and Anuśaṅga Pādas of the Vāyu of the AnSS ed., the main differences being that Bd 35 (verses 78-87), 36 (verses 1-16a), and 70 are not found in the Vāyu, and Vā 25 is not found in the Brahmānda. Besides these, there are variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters, as one may expect in any two Mss of the same Purāṇa.

²⁴ Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 23 and 77.

²⁵ Cf Mbh III, 191, 16; Hv I, 7, 13 and 25; and Harṣacarita, chap. III. No early non-Purāṇic work, except the Uttaragītā-bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda, has been found to name the Brahmānda-p. In the Bhāṣya even, the reading *brahmāṇḍāṇi* is dubious.

²⁶ This is the title given to the Vāyu in the colophons of its chapters.

Some of the above mentioned chapters of the Brahmānda have been drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandhakāras. For instance, Jīmūtavāhana quotes verses from Bḍ II, 21, 24 and 28 and III, 19 in his Kālaviveka; Aparārka from Bḍ III, 9, 11-12, 14-16 and 19 in his com. on Yāj.; Devanabhatta from Bḍ III, 9, 11, 14 and 15 in his Smṛti-candrikā; Hemādri from Bḍ III, 9-12, 14-17 and 19 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, and so forth (see App).

The numerous large extracts and isolated verses, quoted from the 'Brahmānda-p.' in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi on various big donations (such as those of Jambu-dvīpa, Sapta-dvīpa, Prthivī-padma, Dhānya-parvata, Trīmūrti, Caturmūrti, Pañca-mūrti, and the like) and vows (Vrata, viz., Ṛṣi-pañcamī, Daśāditya, Karana, Ardha-śiāvanikā, etc.) but not found in the present Brahmānda, show that the text of the 'Brahmānda', used by Hemādri, was in many respects different from that of our present edition as well as from that of the Brahmānda known to Ballālasena (cf. '*purāṇam brahmāndam... dāna-vidhi-śūnyam ...*' —Dānasāgara, fol. 3b).

4. THE VIṢṆU-PURĀNA :

This is one of the most important of the extant Purāṇas. It belongs to the Pāñcarātra sect and 'is the best representative of the whole class of sectarian Purāṇas, since it is purely Vaisnava in its teaching from beginning to end and yet retains with considerable faithfulness the character of the old unsectarian Purāṇas'. In spite of this distinctive character, it contains, like the other Purāṇas, several chapters on Smṛti-matter; viz., II, 6 (on hells), III, 8-16 (on the duties of the castes and Āśīmas, general customs, impurity and funeral sacrifices), and VI, 1-2 (on Yuga-dharma and Karma-vipāka) and 5 (on hells).

The problem of the date of this Purāṇa is a very difficult one, and scholars hold different opinions about it. Pargiter says: "It is a late Purāṇa composed as a single whole upon a consistent plan, and not a collection of materials of various times, as we find in the Vāyu, Brahma and Matsya. From its account of Buddhism and Jainism it appears to have been composed after Brahmanism had recovered its supremacy, so that it cannot be earlier than about the fifth century A.D., and it is Brahmanical"²⁷. Farquhar opines: "The Harivaṃśa clearly cannot be dated later than A.D. 400, and the Viṣṇu-purāṇa is so like it in most of its features that it is probable that it belongs to the same general date"²⁸. Winternitz says: "Pargiter may be right in thinking that it cannot be earlier than the fifth century A.D. However, I do not think that it is much later"²⁹.

²⁷ Pargiter, AIHT, p. 80.

²⁸ Farquhar, Outline, p. 148.

²⁹ Winternitz, Ind. Lit., Vol. I, p. 545, footnote 2.

C. V. Vaidya tries to prove that the Viṣṇu-purāṇa is not earlier than the ninth century A.D. on the hypothetical assumption that the Kailakila or Kainkila Yavanas, mentioned in Vis IV, 24, 16, reigned in Andhra between 575 and 900 A.D. and were at the height of their power about 782 A.D.³⁰ All these views, except that of Winternitz, are not beyond objection. It is necessary, therefore, to determine afresh the date of the Viṣṇu-p., which has been referred to by Alberūnī and drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers and the religious teachers like Rāmānuja from the eleventh century³¹.

³⁰ Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, Poona, 1921, pp. 350 ff, and JBBRAS, 1925, pp. 155 ff.

³¹ In his Bhāṣyas on the Brahmasūtra and the Upanisads Śamkarācārya gives from 'Smṛti' and 'Purāṇa' a number of verses without expressly naming the sources, and some of these verses are traceable not only in the extant Viṣṇu-purāṇa but in other Purāṇas also; viz, the verses quoted on—

- | | |
|---|---|
| (i) Brahmasūtra I, 2, 19 (p. 196— <i>apratarkyam avijñeyam</i>) | = Manu I, 5b,
= Devī-p 127, 42b,
and so forth. |
| (u) Brahmasūtra I, 3, 28 (p. 288— <i>anādimudhanā</i>) | = Kūr I, 2, 28. |
| (u) Brahmasūtra I, 3, 28 (p. 288— <i>nāmaṁ ūpe ca bhūtānām</i>) | = Vis I, 5, 62;
= Kūr I, 7, 66,
= Vā 3, 63,
= Bd I, 8, 65;
= Mārka 48, 42; and
so on |
| (iv) Brahmasūtra I, 3, 30 (p. 302— <i>teṣāṁ ye yāni</i>) | = Vis I, 5, 59b-60,
= Kūr I, 7, 63-64;
= Mārka 48, 39-40;
and so forth |
| (v) Brahmasūtra I, 3, 30 (pp. 304-5— <i>rsināṇ
nāma-dheyāni</i>) | = Vis I, 5, 63-64
(readings differ
in verse 63),
= Kūr I, 7, 67-68,
= Śiv V (Vāyaviya-
sāṃhitā), 1, 10,
70-71;
= Vā 3, 64-65;
= Bd I, 8, 66,
= Mārka 48, 43-44;
and so forth. |
| (vi) Brahmasūtra III, 2, 24 (p. 828— <i>yaṇ viṃśāḥ</i>) | In none of the
above Purāṇas
the verse ' <i>yathā-
bhīmāninaḥ</i> ' is
found.
= Kūr I, 10, 67.
(The line ' <i>yogi-
nas taṇ</i> ' is not
found). |

It will be shown below that the extant Kūrma-p. has come down to us through two main stages; that in its earlier form it was a Pāñcarātra document composed between 550 and 650 A.D. but was later recast by the Pāśupatas between 700 and 800 A.D.; and that the theology of those chapters, which have been retained in it, has considerable Śākta element like that of the Ahirbudhnyā-saṃhitā (see under Kūrma-p.). Now, a comparison, so far as theology is concerned, between the Visnu and the Visnuite Kūrma-p., shows that the former is older than the latter. In the Viṣṇu-p. Lakṣmī plays no part in creation as Viṣṇu's Śakti. Even, except in only one place (viz., Viṣ I, 8, 27—*aviṣṭambho gadā-pāṇih śaktir lakṣmīr dviṣot-tama*), there is no second mention of Lakṣmī as Visnu's Śakti. The portion, viz., verses 15-32 of Viṣ I, 8, in which this mention occurs and in which the inseparable connection of Visnu and Lakṣmī has been put forth, seems to have been interpolated on account of the fact that the Padma-purāṇa (Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa), which has borrowed Viṣ I, 8 along with many other chapters, does not contain it. The Viṣṇu-p. itself also seems to prove the spuriousness of these verses. In Vis I, 8, 14 Maitreya asks: "It is heard that Śrī came out of the ocean of milk during the churning. Then how do you say that she

- (vi) Brahmasūtra III, 3, 16 (p 872—*sa vai śarīrah*) = Kūr I, 4, 33.
 (viii) Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad I, 4, 6 (p. 113—*brahmavṛksaḥ sanātanaḥ*) = Śiv V (Vāyaviya-saṃhitā), 1, 10, 76c;
 = Vā 9, 116a (in Mss *lh*, *gh* and *m* used in the AnSS ed),
 = Narasiṃha-p 16, 7a; and so on

It is quite evident that the above coincidences cannot carry us far in determining the date of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa.

In numerous cases the individual Purāṇas are found to contain chapters or verses common to two or more of them, or to have retained extracts or isolated verses from their older prototypes or other Sanskrit works. In the Nibandhas also there are numerous extracts or verses which have been quoted with the mention of the names of two or more Purāṇic or non-Purāṇic works as common sources. For instance, see Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Vol. III (Pariśesa-khaṇḍa), Part 1, pp. 10 (*brahmavaivarta-vāyupurāṇayoh*), 12 (*mārkaṇḍeya-skānda-brahmapurāṇeṣu*), 14 (*pādma-mātsyayoh*), 15 (*pādma-mātsyayoh*), 1079 (*viṣṇudharmottara-bhaviṣyotpurāṇa-brahmavaivarta - brahmapurāṇa - vāyupurāṇa - prabhāsakhaṇḍa - bhaviṣyottaresu*), 1095 (*yama - yājñavalkya - viṣṇudharmottara - brahmavaivarta - bhaviṣyottara - kūrmapurāṇeṣu*), 1199 (*śāntātāpasmṛti-prabhāsakhaṇḍeṣu*), 1146 (*vaśiṣṭhaśmṛti-kūrmapurāṇayoh*), etc. etc. So, it is not at all safe to use in determining the date of any particular work any verses which have been quoted without any express mention of the sources, even if those quoted verses are traceable in that particular work.

was born of Khyāti by Bhrgu?" To this Parāśara's reply comes in a much later passage in Vis I, 9, 1: "Hear, O Maitreya, what you have asked me about. This (story) about Śrī I heard from Marici". He then narrates the story. The nature of the answer mentioned above shows that it should follow the query immediately and should have nothing intervening. Therefore, *the irrelevant verses, which separate the answer from the query, appear to be spurious*. Now, if the Visnuite Kūrma-p. was composed between 550 and 650 A.D., then the Visnu-p. cannot be dated later than the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

Let the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu-p. be now compared. As regards contents the Bhāgavata is 'closely connected with the Visnu-p. with which it often agrees literally, and it is undoubtedly dependent upon the latter'³². By comparing the genealogies in both the Purāṇas, Pargiter has come to the conclusion that 'the Bhāgavata has used the Visnu in its composition'³³. Many myths and legends, which are found in a concise and older form in the Visnu-p., appear in the Bhāgavata in a much enlarged and elaborate version. For instances, the stories of Dhruva, Vena, Prthu, Prahlāda, Jaḍa Bharata and others, occurring in both the Purāṇas, may be compared. The Bhāgavata (book X) 'contains the biography of Kṛṣṇa which is here given in much greater detail than in the Visnu-p. and in the Harivamśa. In particular the love scenes with the cowherd-esses (Gopīs) occupy a much larger space'³⁴. In the Visnu-p. a hair of Viṣṇu is said to be incarnated as Kṛṣṇa³⁵, i.e., Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation of an exceedingly small portion of Viṣṇu; but in the Bhāgavata he is called an Aṁśavatāra³⁶ or the Bhagavat himself (*kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*). In the Bhāgavata there are stories which are not found in the Visnu. The story of Kapila (in Bhāg III, 24-33) may be cited as an example. From all this it appears that the Viṣṇu-p. is older than the Bhāgavata. If the latter Purāṇa is assigned to the sixth century A.D. (see under Bhāgavata-p. below), then the date of the former should be placed earlier.

In Viṣ II, 9, 16 the Naksatras are mentioned as beginning with Kṛttikā (*kṛttikādisu rksesu*). The evidence of Varāhamihira (about 550 A.D.) that the old order of the Naksatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī was changed for that from Aśvinī to Revatī in his time, shows that the old order held ground up to a time not posterior to the end of the fifth century A.D. Therefore the Viṣṇu-p., which

³² Winternitz, Ind. Lit., Vol. I, p. 555.

³³ Pargiter, AHIT, p. 80

³⁴ Winternitz, Ind. Lit., Vol. I, p. 557.

³⁵ Viṣ V, 1, 59-60.

³⁶ Bhāg X, 2, 9 and 16.

speaks of the old order, should be dated not later than the end of that century.

We may now compare the *Viṣṇu-p.* with the *Harivamśa* to see if the date of the former can be pushed further up. In the *Harivamśa* the biography of Kṛṣṇa is given at greater length and in greater detail, and Kṛṣṇa is called an *Aṁśāvatāra*³⁷ in the sense that Viṣṇu divided himself into Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarsana for the good of the world³⁸. In the *Viṣṇu-p.* the Hallīśa sport has got various erotic touches, but 'in the *Harivamśa* the whole story of his (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa's) youth is told at much greater length and the Hallīśa is treated as involving sexual intercourse'³⁹. The stories have been developed and expanded in the *Harivamśa*. The story of Jarā-sandha and that of the carrying away of the Pārījāta tree by Kṛṣṇa may be cited as examples. Besides these, there are many new additions found in the *Harivamśa*. For instance, there are the Āryā-stava (Hv II, 3) and the Punyaka-vrata observed by Satyabhāmā (Hv II, 77-81). From all this it can be concluded that the *Viṣṇu-p.* is of earlier origin than at least this portion of the *Harivamśa*. If the lower limit of the date of the *Harivamśa*, which is named and quoted by Gauḍapāda in his *Uttaragītā-bhāṣya*⁴⁰ and cannot possibly, therefore, be later than the sixth century A.D., be placed about 400 A.D.⁴¹, then the *Viṣṇu* must be dated not later than the middle of the fourth century A.D. This will give us the lower limit of the date of the *Viṣṇu-p.*

The mention of the zodiacal signs (Rāśi) at various places in the *Viṣṇu-p.*⁴² shows that at the time of composition of the *Purāṇa* these signs became quite familiar and were widely used. The familiarity of the ancient people with the Tithis, Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term *rāśi* in all early works down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāśis earlier than the second century A.D. The mention of the word *horā* in *Viṣ* IV, 12, 13 is also significant. Though the occurrence of the term *horā* in two verses quoted by

³⁷ Hv II, 49, 32 ³⁸ Ibid., II, 14, 46

³⁹ Farquhar, Outline, p. 144.

⁴⁰ *Uttaragītā*, p. 68—*uktam ca harivamśe—
asatkirtana-kāntāra-parivartana-pūmsubhīḥ (*pūmsulām ?)
vācam hari-kathālāpa-gaṇḍayaiva punīmahe*||

Also see chap 3 in Mss Nos. 4504 and K558E of the *Uttaragītā* in the D. U. Mss Lib. In the Mss the readings of the verse slightly differ.

⁴¹ Farquhar, Outline, p. 143.

Winternitz, Ind. Lit., I, p. 464, footnote 2.

⁴² Viz., *Viṣ* II, 8, 28 and 30; II, 8, 41-42; II, 8, 62-63; II, 8, 70; II, 12, 19; III, 14, 5; and IV, 24, 30

Varāhamihira from Garga⁴³ shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A.D., there is nothing to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A.D. Hence it can be held, and not quite unreasonably, that the *Viṣṇu-p.*, which is familiar with the Rāsis and the Horā, was written not earlier than the end of the first century A.D.

Thus, the date of composition of the *Viṣṇu-p.* falls between the end of the first and the middle of the fourth century A.D., i.e., between 100 and 350 A.D. The nature of the Smṛti-contents of the *Viṣṇu-p.*, as compared with those of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, tends to show that the former is later than the latter. So it is highly probable that the *Viṣṇu-p.* was written in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.

The view of Pargiter that the *Viṣṇu-p.* 'cannot be earlier than about the 5th century A.D.' is based on *Vis III, 17 and 18 describing the story of Māyāmoha*. It will be seen below that these chapters were most probably interpolated at a later date.

The summary of contents of *Vis III, 17 and 18* is as follows :

Maitreya asks Parāśara to explain the word *nagna* used by the latter in connection with those who are to be shunned in a Śrāddha ceremony. Accordingly, Parāśara begins a story, which he says, was narrated to Bhīṣma by Parāśara's grandfather Vasiṣṭha. This story says that in ancient times the gods, being defeated by the demons (Asuras) in a war which was continued for a divine year, went to the northern side of the ocean of milk and eulogised Viṣṇu who, consequently, produced Māyāmoha from his own body and gave him to the gods. This Māyāmoha, with his body stripped of all garments, his head shaved and a peacock feather in hand, went to the banks of the Narmadā where the demons were living, preached to them the religion of 'the naked' (i.e., Jainism) and turned them 'Ārhatas'. Next, Māyāmoha put on red clothes, painted his eyes with collyrium and preached Ahimsā (i.e., Buddhism) to the remaining demons. As a result of this preaching the demons soon gave up the Vedic religion and got weakened. Consequently, they were attacked by the gods, defeated and massacred.

The above story of delusion, in which Viṣṇu creates Māyāmoha from his own body with a view to deluding the demons, is certainly later than that found in *Mat 24, 43-49*. This *Purāṇa* says that once the sons of Rāji became very powerful by virtue of their penance, took possession of the heavenly kingdom of Indra, and deprived him of his share in the sacrifices. Consequently, Indra sought the help of Bṛhaspati, who first increased the power of the god through

⁴³ *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, pp. 7 and 9.

various mystic rites and then deluded (*mohayāmāsa*) the sons of Rāji by preaching to them the non-Vedic religion of the Jina⁴⁴. The sons of Rāji thus got out of the pale of the Vedic religion and were killed by Indra. In this story it is Brhaspati who preaches the religion of the Jina. That this connection of Brhaspati with delusion through the Jina-dharma was well-known in ancient India is shown by the *Devībhāgavata* (IV, 13), in which Brhaspati appears in the guise of Śukra during the latter's absence and deludes the demons by preaching the 'Jaina dharma'. In the *Harivamśa* also, Brhaspati is said to have 'deluded' the sons of Rāji by writing some heretical works for them⁴⁵. Now, the date of Mat 24, in which the above mentioned story of Brhaspati occurs, is to be placed either in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. (See under *Matsya-p.* below). Therefore the story of *Māyāmoha* in the *Viṣṇu-p.* is to be dated later than the middle of the fourth century A.D. It is probable that the story did not originate earlier than 500 A.D. (see also under *Matsya-p.*)

That the story of *Māyāmoha* is spurious seems further to be shown by the fact that though the *Viṣṇu-p.* knows many incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Kalki, it is remarkably silent about the Buddha incarnation. So it seems that the Buddha did not come to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu at the time of composition of the *Viṣṇu-p.*

The story of *Māyāmoha* is also found in a much elaborate form in the *Padma-p.*, *Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa*, chap. 13. The story here is clearly an amalgamation of those in the *Matsya* (24, 43-49) and the *Devībhāgavata* (IV, 13) on the one hand, and that in the *Viṣṇu* (III, 17-18) on the other. The date of the *Padma-p.* (*Srṣṭi-kh.*) being not earlier than about 650 A.D. (see below, under *Padma-p.*), this story does not affect the above date of Viṣ III, 17-18.

In *Padma-p.*, *Bhūmi-kh.*, 36-39 also, Viṣṇu is said to have deluded Vena by preaching the 'Jaina dharma'. As this *Khaṇḍa* cannot be placed earlier than 900 A.D., the story in it can be ignored.

As to the *Smṛti*-chapters of the *Viṣṇu-p.*, there is nothing to show that they were added later. Hence it should be admitted that they come from the same general date as that of the *Purāṇa* itself. They have been profusely drawn upon by the commentators and *Nibandhakāras* like *Jīmūtavāhana*, *Aparārka*, *Vijñāneśvara*, *Aniruddhabhaṭṭa*, *Ballālasena*, *Devaṇabhaṭṭa*, *Īemādri*, *Kullūka-bhaṭṭa* and others (see App.).

Of all the extant *Purāṇas*, the *Viṣṇu* has preserved the best text. Additions and alterations have been made in it much less freely than

⁴⁴ Mat 24, 47.

⁴⁵ Hv I, 28, 29 ff.

in the other Purāṇas. Consequently, the great majority of the verses quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas from the 'Visnu-p.' or 'Vaisnava' occur in the present Visnu and agree very closely in readings with those of the Purāṇa. From the verses quoted in the Adbhutasāgara (pp 383, 499-500 and 564) but not traceable in the extant Visnu it is evident that the Purāṇa, in its earlier form or in a different recension, contained chapters (on the different Adbhutas) which are now lost. The verses on Nārāyaṇa-bali (offering to Nārāyaṇa), quoted in the Mitāksarā (on Yāj III, 6) from the 'Vaisnava', does not seem to have been taken from the Visnu-p., because these verses, which are not found in the present Visnu-p., are quoted in the Madana-pārijāta (pp 410-411) with the words '*nārāyaṇa-bali-svarūpam ca viṣṇunābhikṛitam*', wherein the word '*viṣṇu*' seems to mean a person (most probably a Samhitākāra) and not a book.

It was perhaps the great fame and popularity of the Visnu-p. that encouraged the composition of a spurious work of the same title and extent as those of the Visnu at a time earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.⁴⁶ As no Ms of this spurious work has been found as yet, it seems to have been lost.

5. THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA ⁴⁷.

The determination of the date of composition of the Matsya-purāṇa, as we have it now, is rather difficult. No one date is sufficient for it, because it has suffered through repeated additions and losses. Hence, for the date of this Purāṇa in its earlier form, we shall have to look to the chapters dealing with the genealogies of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, for these chapters are undoubtedly the oldest parts in the present Matsya. These chapters, again, should be divided into two groups; viz.,

(1) chaps 11-12, 23-24, and 43-46—which have not yet been traced anywhere else, and (2) chaps 47-50 and 271-273—which greatly resemble chaps. 96 (verses 192 ff), 97-98 and 99 (especially except verses 367-391) of the Vāyu-p. Besides these, there are also other chapters which are common to the Matsya and Vāyu; viz., Matsya-p., chaps. 51, 114, 124-128 and 141-145, and Vāyu-p., chaps. 29, 45 (verses 69 to the end), 46 (verses 1 to the end, except a few verses), 50 (verses 56 to the end), 51, 52 (verses 1-71a), 52 (71b to the end), and 53. We shall first turn our attention to the chapters

⁴⁶ See Dūnasāgara, fol. 4a; also footnote 181 under Agni-purāṇa in chap. III.

⁴⁷ The Vaṅga. ed. is chapter by chapter the same as the AnSS ed., the main difference being that the section on the merits of listening to the Purāṇa, which is found at the end of the AnSS ed., does not occur in the Vaṅga. ed. There are also occasional differences in readings, but those are not many.

of the second group, and especially to chaps 50 (verses 72 ff.) and 271-273 dealing with the future dynasties, because their date will help us to ascertain the date of the present Matsya-p.

The striking agreement between the chapters common to the Matsya and the Vāyu-p. naturally raises the question as to whether these two Purāṇas borrowed their accounts from the same original source or one of them copied these from the other. As a solution F. E. Pargiter has put forth the theory that about the last quarter of the third century A.D. the Matsya borrowed from the Bhaviṣya the shorter account (of the future dynasties) which ended with the downfall of the Andhras and the local kingdoms that survived them a while. 'The Bhaviṣya account was then extended down to the time when the Gupta kingdom had acquired the territories assigned to it, and its language was revised; that would be (say) about 320-325 A.D. The Vāyu copied that extended and revised account from the Bhaviṣya almost immediately, and that is the version found in eVāyu (i.e., a Ms of the Vāyu-p., preserved in the India Office Library and called eVāyu by Pargiter for differentiation). Afterwards, the language of the Bhaviṣya version was revised again

... about 330-335 . . . This second revision was soon adopted by the Vāyu and is the version found now in Vāyu Mss generally'⁴⁸. This theory, with all its attractiveness and reasonings, is not free from defects. The way in which the Matsya and the Vāyu refer to the 'Bhaviṣya'⁴⁹, shows clearly that their versions were not copied *verbatim* from this original source, viz., 'Bhaviṣya-p.'; for in the 'Bhaviṣya' itself such references would be absurd and meaningless. If so, why then do the two versions agree almost literally not only in the genealogies but also in the stories of kings, sages and demons; viz., Mat 47 = Vā 96 (verses 192 ff.)—98 (on Viṣṇu's different incarnations and the war between the gods and demons); Mat 48, 80-89 = Vā 99, 35-98 (containing the story of the birth of Dīrghatamas, his practice of Go-dharma, and his begetting of five sons on the maid servant and the wife of king Balī); Mat 49, 15-34 = Vā 99, 139-158 (on the story of the birth of Bharadvāja); and so forth? The genealogies of kings are given in some other Purāṇas also; and there are, of course, certain verses which are found common to two or more of them, but the striking agreement which is found between the Matsya and the Vāyu is to be met with nowhere else. So, the

⁴⁸ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali age*, Introduction, p. xiii

⁴⁹ Viz., in 'tān sarvān kīrtayisyāmi bhaviṣye Kathitān nṛpān'—Mat 50, 75 = Vā 99, 267 (the Vāyu reads 'paṭhitān' for 'kathitān'); 'tasyānnavāṇye vakyāmi bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān'—Mat 50, 77 = Vā 99, 270 (the Vāyu reads 'tāvato' for 'kathitān'); and 'bhaviṣye te prasamkhyātāḥ purāṇajñāḥ śrutarṣibhiḥ'—Mat 273, 87 = Vā 99, 417 (the latter reads 'bhaviṣyais tatra samkhyātāḥ' for 'bhaviṣye etc').

mutually agreeing Matsya and Vāyu versions, which are not copies made from the 'Bhavisya', could not be based independently upon this source, because in that case they would never agree so literally. It seems therefore that one of them must have drawn upon the other.

The expressions '...*bhavisye kathitān nṛpān*', '*bhaviṣye te prasamkhyūtāh* ...' etc., occurring both in the Vāyu and the Matsya, should not be taken to be due to the independent use of the same original source (viz., the 'Bhavisya-p.') by these two Purāṇas. But the reason is that, as we shall see below, the version of the Vāyu was based on the 'Bhavisya' to which it refers by name, and the Matsya version is only a copy of the Vāyu version. So the references also have been retained in the Matsya.

It may be questioned, 'If one of the Purāṇas, viz., the Matsya and the Vāyu, used the other as the source, then how are we to explain the differences between the two Purāṇas in readings and additional verses?' The answer is that such differences are to be ascribed to the later additions, alterations, losses, and mistakes made by the scribes. Even the different Mss of a particular Purāṇa are always found to differ considerably in readings and numbers of verses; but inspite of such differences the work is substantially the same. So, the Matsya and Vāyu versions should not be taken as distinct from, and independent of, each other merely on account of such differences. On the other hand, a comparison of readings and verses given from different Mss in the AnSS editions of the Vāyu and Matsya reduces the number of such variations to a very great extent. It should be remembered that no one Ms of a Purāṇa is reliable for such comparison, for it is sometimes found that while one Ms preserves a correct reading in a particular place another makes a mistake, and the verses omitted by one Ms in one place are found in another. For example, Vā 99, 14 (= Bd III, 74, 14 = Mat 48, 11b-12a; the Matsya reads '*kolāhalasya*' for '*kālānalasya*' of the Vāyu and Brahmaṇḍa) is not found in Ms *g* of the Vāyu⁵⁰; Vā 99, 17a (= Bd III, 74, 16a = Mat 48, 14b; reading differs) is not found in Ms *kh* of the same Purāṇa; and so on. Similarly, Mat 49, 52b-59 (= Vā 99, 175-182; readings differ) are not found in Ms *g* of the Matsya⁵¹; and so on. On the other hand, Mat 49, 61-69, which are not found in the Vāyu-p., are also not found in Mss *gh* and *ñ* of the Matsya⁵²; Mat 50, 41b, not occurring in the Vāyu, does not also occur in Mss *k* and *kh*⁵³; and so on. As regards readings also a good number of such examples may be given.

⁵⁰ See Vāyu-p., p. 370, footnote.

⁵¹ See Matsya-p., AnSS ed., p. 102, footnote.

⁵² Ibid., p. 102, footnote. ⁵³ Ibid., p. 105, footnote.

As to the interrelation among the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Matsya, it may be said that the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, though originally one, were separated at some early time. Since separation they have been subjected independently to additions, alterations, losses, and mistakes made by the scribes. As the same additions, alterations etc were not, and could not possibly be, made in these two separate works by different hands belonging to different climes and ages, it is found that where one is found to preserve the original text, the other makes a mistake. It is only for this reason that "where the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa differ, one of them not seldom agrees with the Matsya" which also has not escaped additions, alterations etc.; that "single Mss of them sometimes vary so as to agree with the reading of the Matsya", and that "one Purāṇa occasionally omits a verse which appears in one or both of the two others, yet a single Ms (or a very few Mss) of it has at times preserved that verse"⁵⁴.

From the above discussion it follows that the Matsya and Vāyu versions were not based independently on the original source 'Bhavisya' nor were they copied *Verbatim* from it, but that either the Matsya version was copied from that of the Vāyu or *vice versa*. We shall now try to see which one is the borrower.

In Mat 142(= Vā 57, 1-85) the genealogies of sages are referred to as narrated before⁵⁵, but there is no chapter in the Matsya dealing with these and preceding chap. 142, whereas in the Vāyu there is a chapter (viz., 28) which deals with Ṛṣi-vamśa. In the Matsya the genealogies of sages are given as late as in chapters 195-202, which, on account of their position and elaborate character, seem to be later additions. Moreover, the opening verses contain Manu's mention of Śiva's curse on the sage—a curse which has really not been referred to by the Fish anywhere in the Matsya-p. These chapters (195-202), which practically treat of the Gotras and Pravaraś, may have been based on the works on Pravaraś ascribed to Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Viśvāmitra, Garga and others⁵⁶. Again, in Mat 50, 68-71 (= Vā 99, 260-263; the Vāyu differs in readings in several places) the sages, wishing to hear of the future, put to Sūta several questions about (1) the future kings—their names and the periods of their reigns, and (2) the future ages—their characteristic

⁵⁴ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali age*, Introduction, p. vi.

⁵⁵ Cf. *kramāgataṃ mayāpy etat tubhyam noktaṃ yuga-dvayam* |
ṛṣi-vamśa-prasangena vyākūlatvāt tathātmanah||

Mat 142, 30 = Vā 57, 38. The latter reads 'hi' for 'api', 'proktaṃ' for 'noktaṃ', and 'tathaiḥ ca' for 'tathātmanah'.

⁵⁶ Cf. 'pravara-gotrāyoh śamānatvāsamānatve baudhāyana-kātyāyana-viśvāmitra-gargādi-praṇīteṣu pravara-grantheṣu prasiddhe'—Mādhava-bhāṣya on the Parāśara-smṛti, Vol. I, part ii, p. 72.

signs, their merits and defects, and the happiness and miseries of the people during these ages. Consequently, Sūta, promising to narrate to them the future Kali age, the future Manvantaras and the future kingships⁵⁷, begins with the future kings and answers all the questions in Mat 50 (verses 77 to the end = Vā 99, 270-280a) and 271-273 (= Vā 99, 281 to the end). About the future Manvantaras, which Sūta himself wants to narrate, nothing is said in the Matsya-p., whereas in the Vāyu these are dealt with in the following chapter (i.e., chap. 100). From these disagreements between the two Purāṇas it follows that the Matsya-p. borrowed only those chapters from the Vāyu which it found necessary, without caring for the lines containing references to other chapters of the Vāyu. So it may be concluded that the Matsya borrowed the chapters, common to itself and the Vāyu, from the latter, and not from the 'Bhaviṣya'. And this priority of the Vāyu account explains why "the Vāyu has Prakritisms sometimes where the Matsya has correct Sanskrit"⁵⁸.

The above view is supported by the Vāyu Mss themselves. One Vāyu Ms (referred to as eVāyu by Pargiter and belonging to the India Office Library) is described as follows: "Very valuable, because it has readings different from the printed editions, and some verses not contained therein; and where it differs therefrom it often agrees with the Matsya"⁵⁹. Moreover, in that portion of the account, which deals with the evils of the Kali age and a chronological-astronomical summary of the age, "the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa version contains 32 more lines and is nearly twice as long as the Matsya", whereas "the account in eVāyu has the full description with the exception of a few verses". From these it follows that the agreement between the Vāyu and Matsya versions was once much greater than it is now, and that the text of the Vāyu has been much tampered with, with the result that it has suffered through additions, losses and mistakes. It should be noted here that the Vāyu Ms referred to cannot be proved to have preserved the original readings of the Vāyu, and that there might have been other Mss containing better readings.

Before we proceed further we are confronted with another problem, viz., why Vā 99, 365-391, which carry the narrative down to the rise of the Guptas, do not occur in the Matsya-p., though the latter drew upon the former. The explanation is that the Vāyu version of the dynasties of the Kali age must have had two stages of termination. In its earlier stage it ended with the downfall of the Andhras and the local kingdoms that survived them a while,

⁵⁷ Cf Mat 50, 72-76 = Vā 99, 264-269; readings differ in a few cases.

⁵⁸ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali age*, Introduction, p. xiv.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

and it was in this stage that the Matsya copied the Vāyu version. In the second stage the Vāyu account was extended to the rise of the Guptas by the addition of verses 365-391 of Vā 99. There being no mention of Samudragupta's conquests in this later addition, Pargiter thinks, and not unreasonably, that this addition was made not later than 335 A.D.⁶⁰ Hence the date of the Vāyu version in its earlier stage should be placed not earlier than the middle of the third century A.D. when the Āndhra kingdom fell and not later than 335 A.D., and most probably about the last quarter of the third century A.D.⁶¹ So, the date of the Matsya version also falls either in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. The occasionally crude style of the Matsya version and the agreement between the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa as regards the extended portion of the dynastic account need not go against the priority of the shorter account of the Vāyu. It has already been said that the text of the Vāyu was revised and emended more than once. Hence it is not at all improbable that the crude portions also should have been rewritten. Further, the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa were separated undoubtedly after the Vāyu account had been extended to the rise of the Guptas and also even after the text of the Vāyu had begun to be worked upon, for the Brahmāṇḍa not only contains the extended portion of the dynastic account of the Vāyu but agrees more closely with the printed text of the Vāyu than with the Ms (eVāyu) referred to above.

The view of Pargiter that the Bhavisya was subjected to two revisions in the early centuries of the Christian era⁶² is purely an assumption without any evidence in its support. The accounts in the three Purāṇas—Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa—do not also seem to have been compared at times, because in that case the readings of the Matsya, while agreeing more with those of the Ms eVāyu, would not have differed so much from those of the printed editions of the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, and there would have been every possibility of extending the Matsya account to the rise of the Guptas.

We have seen above that the chapters of the second group in the Matsya-p. (i.e., those chapters on the genealogies of kings in the Matsya which are common to itself and the Vāyu) were borrowed from the Vāyu about the last quarter of the third century A.D. Now, the chapters of the first group (i.e., chaps. 11-12, 23-24 and 43-46) may either be contemporaneous with those of the second or may belong to different ages. The close interrelation of the contents of the chapters of the two groups, however, tends to

⁶⁰ Ibid., Introduction, p. xiii.

⁶¹ Ibid., Introduction, p. xiii

⁶² Ibid., Introduction, p. xiii.

point to the former alternative. In the first group chap. 11 opens with a request to Sūta to describe the Solar and Lunar dynasties, and chap. 12 accordingly names the descendants of Ikṣvāku of the Solar dynasty. Next, the Lunar dynasty is taken up. Accordingly, in chaps. 23-24 the story of the birth of Budha is narrated and his descendants down to Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru are named; and chaps. 43-46 name the descendants of Yadu and give accounts of some of them. In the second group, chap. 47 narrates the stories of the Yādavas, of Kṛṣṇa, of the wars between the gods and demons, etc.; chap. 48 names and describes the descendants of Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu; chaps. 49-50 (verses 1-67) name the descendants of Puru down to Adhishomakṛṣṇa, chap. 50 (verses 68 to the end) names the future kings from Adhishomakṛṣṇa to Kṣemaka; and chaps. 271-273 further continue the names and accounts of the future kings and races.

The contents enumerated above will show how closely the chapters of the two groups are interrelated. Without the chapters of the second group, the accounts given by those of the first are incomplete, for the descendants of Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru are no less important than those of Yadu, but are equally required for the completion of the account. It is therefore highly probable that the original author, or rather compiler, of the present *Matsya* wrote, or borrowed from some unknown source, the chapters of the first group and supplemented them with those of the second. Consequently, *the date of the earlier form of the present Matsya seems to be the same as that of the Matsya's borrowing the chapters of the second group from the Vāyu, i.e., about the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.*

Let us now pass on to the Smṛti-chapters, which form the major portion of the present *Matsya-p*. In this *Purāṇa* funeral sacrifices are dealt with in chaps. 16-22; Vratas in chaps. 7, 54-57, 60-66, 69-81 and 95-101; gifts in chaps. 53, 82-92, 205-206 and 274-289; holy places in chaps. 13 (verses 10 to the end), 22, 103-112 (on the glories of Prayāga), 180-185 (on the glories of Benares), and 186-194 (on the glories of the river Narmadā); duties of the Āśramas in chap. 40; bath in chaps. 67, 68 and 102; Pratiṣṭhā (consecration) in chaps. 58-59 and 264-270; duties of women in chap. 7 (verses 37-49); hells in chap. 39; sacrifices to the planets (Gṛaha-yajña) and their pacification (Śānti) in chaps. 93, 94 and 228-239; duties of kings in chaps. 215-243; law (Vyavahāra) in chap. 227; dedication (Utsarga) in chap. 207; Yuga-dharma in chaps. 142, 144, 145 and 165; penances in chap. 227 (verses 34 ff.); and Vāstu in chaps. 252-257 and 268-270.

Before proceeding to discuss the dates of these chapters it is necessary to examine the chapters common to the *Matsya* and the

Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-kh) in order to see whether the former borrowed these chapters from the latter or *vice versa*. The chapters common to the two Purāṇas are the following.

	Matsya-p		Padma-p (Sṛṣṭi-kh)
Chaps.	5-6	=	Chap 6.
"	7-9	=	" 7.
"	10-12	=	" 8.
Chap	13 (verses 1-10a)	}	" 9.
Chaps.	14-17		
"	18-21	=	" 10.
Chap	22	=	" 11 (especially except verses 69-81)
"	23,	}	" 12 (verses 1-108a)
"	24 (verses 1-54)		
"	43	=	" 12 (verses 110 to the end).
"	44 (especially except verses 1-14a),	}	" 13 (verses 1-281a)
Chaps	45-46,		
Chap	47 (verses 1-181)	=	" 20 (verses 4-176).
Chaps.	100-102	}	" 21.
"	81-92,		
"	74-80	}	" 22 (especially except verses 165-175)
"	61-64		
Chap	66	=	" 23
Chaps.	60-70	=	" 24 (verses 1-63)
"	71-72	=	" 24 (verses 64-96)
Chap.	55	=	" 24 (verses 101-190)
Chaps	57-58	=	" 24 (verses 191-end)
"	59-60	=	" 36.
"	164-168	=	" 37.
"	169-173	=	" 38.
"	174-178	}	" 39 (verses 5-102).
Chap.	146 (verses 41-end)		
Chaps.	147-148	=	" 39 (verses 103-end)
Chap.	153 (verses 222-228a)	=	" 40.
"	154 (especially except verses 447-485)	=	" 41.
Chaps.	155-160	}	" 42
Chap.	161,		
"	162 (verses 1-34)		
"	163 (verses 25b-end)	=	" 42

Matsya-p.

Padma-p. (Srsti-kh.)

Chap. 179 (verses 1-13a)

= Chap. 43 (verses 6b-9a
and 77-85a)⁶³.

The close agreement of multifarious subjects and stories dealt with in these chapters proves that they could not be based independently on tradition, but one of them must have drawn upon the other. A comparison between the two Purānas, however, shows that the Padma (Srsti-kh) is the borrower. In those chapters which are common to the Vāyu, Matsya and Padma (Srsti-kh)⁶⁴, the Padma follows more the Matsya than the Vāyu. It has been said above that the Matsya drew upon the Vāyu. So it seems that the Matsya first borrowed these common chapters from the Vāyu, and the Padma (Srsti-kh.) next took them from the Matsya. A comparison of the chapters common to the Harivamśa, Matsya and Padma (Srsti-kh.)⁶⁵ also shows that the Padma (Srsti-kh) resembles more the Matsya than the Harivamśa. The reading '*purānam pauskare caiva mayā dvaipāyanācchrutam*' of Hv III, 14, 66a need not mislead one to hold that the Harivamśa was based on the Padma (Srsti-kh) which is also known as Pauskara), for both the Matsya and the Vanga ed. of the Padma (Srsti-kh.) read '*purānam puruṣaś caiva mayā* (Padma reads '*māyām*') *viṣṇur harṣṇa prabhūḥ*' in the corresponding passages⁶⁶. There are also other evidences to show that the Padma (Srsti-kh) is the borrower. Both in Vā 93 (verses 9, 12, 15, 19 and 31) and Mat 47 (verses 176, 179, 182, 186 and 197) Śukra, the preceptor of the demons, is said to have lived invisibly with Jayantī for ten years, whereas in Pd (Srsti-kh) 13 (verses 278, 281 and 287) the period is lengthened to one hundred years. The occurrence of the words *śata-varṣāni* and *varṣa-śatam* in three places in the Padma (Srsti-kh) shows that it is not due to the mistake of the scribes but is to be ascribed to the spirit of exaggeration of the people of later ages. Further, in some of the chapters of the Padma (Srsti-kh.), which are traceable in the Matsya and Visnu, the names of Viṣṇu have been changed for those of Brahmā, while in others

⁶³ The corresponding chapters in the two Purānas have often different readings or numbers of verses. Even besides the additional verses mentioned above, there are others which are too numerous to be given in the above list. Of the chapters containing such extra verses, Mat 147-148 and 154 and Pd (Srsti-kh.) 40 deserve special mention.

⁶⁴ Vā 73, 96 (verses 192 ff) and 97-98; Mat 14-15 and 47; and Pd (Srsti-kh.) 9 (verses 11-72) and 18 (verses 139-234a).

⁶⁵ Hv III, 41-47 and 7-14, Mat 161-171, Pd (Srsti-kh.) chapters 42, 36 and 37.

⁶⁶ The AnSS ed. of the Pd (Srsti-kh) reads '*suparṇam pakṣiṇaś caiva māyāṇ etc.*'

the names or glorifications of Viṣṇu have been left unchanged. Even in those chapters wherein such changes have been made, there are marks left to testify to their originally Vaiṣṇava character⁶⁷. Such Vaiṣṇava character of these chapters shows that they did not belong to the Padma (Srṣṭi-kh), which, it will be shown afterwards, was originally meant for the revival of Brahmā-worship. That the Padma-p (Srṣṭi-kh) borrowed the common chapters from the Matsya does not seem to have been unknown to the early Smṛti-writers. For instance, Aniruddhabhatta, who lived about 1150 A.D., quotes Pd (Srṣṭi-kh) 10, 13b and refers to Pd (Srṣṭi-kh) 10, 15-20a saying

*“yat tu padmapurāṇe—sarpūjya dviḥa-dāmpatyam
nānābharana-bhūṣitam|| ityevamantam matsya-purāṇa-
tulyam abhidhāyādhikam śaṅgā-dīna-vidhānam ākṛtam tat
pārvatīyūnām eva kāmārūpādī-vāsmām brāhmaṇādīnām
avaśyānuṣṭheyaṁ iti tatiravoktam”*⁶⁸

The evidences adduced above are perhaps sufficient to prove that the Padma (Srṣṭi-kh) is the borrower. It is probably due to this plagiarism that the Padma-p has been rarely drawn upon by the early Nibandha-writers.

Let us now proceed to discuss the dates of the Smṛti-chapters. We shall first take up the chapters (16-22) on funeral sacrifices (Śrāddha). These chapters were written by a Vaiṣṇava⁶⁹ and introduced into the Matsya-p. in connection with the Pitṛvaṃśa (i.e., the genealogy of the patriarchs) given in chaps. 13-15. The spurious character of all these chapters from 13 to 22 seems to be proved by their very position. At the outset of chap. 11 Sūta is requested to narrate the Solar and Lunar dynasties. Chap. 12, accordingly dealing with the Solar race, ends thus: “*iti . . . sūrya-vamśānukīrtanaṁ nāma dvādaśo ’dhyāyah*”. But the Lunar race is taken up as late as in chap. 23. Hence the intervening chaps. 13-22 seem to have been interpolated later. The spuriousness of the chapters is further proved by the fact that they are wholly unconnected and are introduced all on a sudden without any hint being given beforehand. So, they are to be dated later than the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. Again, chaps. 16-22 (on funeral sacrifices) and chaps. 13-15 (on the genealogy of the patriarchs) do not appear to have belonged to the same date. At the beginning of chap. 13 Manu

⁶⁷ Cf. Pd (Srṣṭi-kh) 7, 115—“*brahmādyā viṣṇu-sūryūjyaṁ tato yāsyanti va
nṛpa*,” 9, 113; etc.

⁶⁸ Hārataṭā, p. 109. Cf. also Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 531.

⁶⁹ Cf. Mat 16, 45b; 17, 1a; 17, 30b; and so on.

requests the Fish to tell him about the Pitr-vamśa and the Śrāddha-devatva of the Sun and the Moon. The Fish accordingly narrates the Pitr-vamśa in chaps. 13-15, refers to the Sun and the Moon in the course of chap. 15, and finishes saying :

*“haviśmatām ādhīpatye śrāddha-devaḥ smṛto raviḥ|
etad vaḥ sarvaṁ ākhyātāṃ pitṛ-vamśānukīrtanam|
punyam pavitram āyusyaṁ kīrtanīyaṁ sadā ṛbhīḥ||*

(Mat 15, 43).

As in chaps 13-15 there is no reference to the chapters on funeral sacrifices, as the genealogy of the patriarchs is complete in chaps. 13-15, and as there is no second reference to the Śrāddha-devatva of the Sun and the Moon anywhere in chaps. 16-22, we may hold that chaps. 13-15 formed a distinct unit by themselves and were originally not followed by any chapter or chapters on funeral sacrifices. It is, therefore, probable that chaps. 16-22 on funeral sacrifices were interpolated at a date later than that of chaps. 13-15. If a period of at least 50 years be allowed between the latter and chaps. 16-22, then these chapters on funeral sacrifices cannot possibly be earlier than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Now, Devanabhaṭṭa quotes numerous verses from chaps. 15-19 and 22 in his *Smṛti-candrikā*, Hemādri from chaps. 16-22 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Jimūtavāhana from chaps. 17 and 22 in his *Kālaviveka*, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa from chap. 18 in his *Hāralatā*, Ballālasena from chap. 22 in his *Dānasāgara*, Aparārka from chaps. 15-18 and 22 in his com. on *Yāj.*, Haradatta from chap. 18 in his com. on the *Gautama-dharmasūtra*, Kullūkabhaṭṭa from chaps. 17 and 18 in his com. on the *Manu-smṛti*, Mādhavācārya from chaps. 16-18 in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Madanapāla from chaps. 16 and 17 in his *Madana-pārijāta*, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chap. 16 in his *Kṛtyācāra*, Candēśvara from chap. 17 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, Narasimha Vājapeyī from chap. 18 in his *Nityācārapradīpa*, and Govindānanda from chaps. 15-18 and 22 in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī*, *Suddhikriyā-kaumudī* and *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* (see App.). These quotations made by the Nibandha-writers from different parts of India show that chaps. 16-22 must be dated not later than 1000 A.D. Again, chaps. 16-22 are among those which are found common to the *Matsya* and the *Padma* (Srṣṭi-kh.). The quotations made by the early Nibandha-writers like Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Aparārka, Ballālasena, Devanabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from the chapters of the *Padma* (Srṣṭi-kh.), common also to the *Matsya*, show that the *Padma* (Srṣṭi-kh.) borrowed these chapters so early that this *Purāṇa*, with its new additions, had sufficient time not only for circulation in all parts of India but also for replacing the earlier

form of the Purāṇa. If at least a century and a half be allowed for such effective circulation, then the lower limit of the date of borrowing is to be placed not later than about 950 A.D. Consequently, the common chapters of the Matsya are to be dated earlier still, and most probably not later than 850 A.D. As chaps 16-22 betray Vaisnava authorship, it is probable that they come from the same date as the chapters on vows and gifts⁷⁰.

We shall now take up the chapters on vows, gifts, bath etc. The position of chaps 51-270 between chaps 43-50 on the one hand and chaps 271-273 on the other appears to prove their spurious character, for the latter two groups of chapters are intimately connected with each other. The Lunar dynasty is taken up in chap 23 and is described in chaps 23-24 and 43-50. In Mat 50, 68-71 the sages request Sūta to tell them about the future kings and ages. In compliance with this request Sūta undertakes, in Mat 50, 72-76, to speak on the future Kali age and the Manvantaras and also to give accounts not only of the future kings in the families of Ilā, Ikṣvāku and Puru but also of the Āndhras, Śakas, Yavanas, Pulindas, Kaivartas, Ābhīras and others who attained regal power. He then gives the list of the future kings only of the line of Puru in Mat 50, 77 to the end, the chapter ending thus

*ityeṣa pauravo vaṁśo yathāvad iha kīrtitaḥ |
dhīmataḥ pāṇdu-putrasya arjunasya mahātmanah ||*

At the beginning of chap. 271 the sages say to Sūta,

*‘puror vaṁśas tvayā sūta sabhaviṣyo nveditaḥ |
sūrya-vaṁśe nrpā ye tu bhaviṣyanti hi tūn vada ||’*

Consequently, the latter continues to give lists and accounts of the other future kings and the future ages in accordance with the promise he makes in Mat 50, 72-76. From all this it is quite evident that chaps. 271-273 have been separated from chap 50. Of course, this separation might be due to the misplacement of chaps 271-273

⁷⁰ If the word *brahmanya*, used along with the words *śiva-bhakta*, *sūrya-bhakta* and *vaisnava* in Mat 16, 9-10, is taken to mean ‘a worshipper of Brahmā’, then it must be admitted that Brahmā-worship was still prevalent, otherwise his worshippers would not have been classed with the Pankti-pāvanas. Hence Mat 16-22 could not be later than 650 A.D. Though the Padma (Srṣṭi-kh) reads ‘*brāhmaṇa*’ in the corresponding line (cf. Pd, Srṣṭi-kh, 9, 82b), the reading ‘*brahmanya*’ of the Matsya is the correct one, for this latter reading is supported by Devanabhaṭṭa (Smṛti-candrīkā, IV, p. 156), Aparārka (com., p. 448), Hemādri (Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III, i, p. 386) and Govindānanda (Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī, p. 35). The change from ‘*brahmanya*’ to ‘*brāhmaṇa*’ made by the Padma (Srṣṭi-kh.) is most probably due to the fact that in the just preceding line it changes ‘*śiva-bhakta*’ to ‘*brahma-bhakta*’.

or chaps 51-270, which is not quite unlikely. We should, therefore, turn our attention to other things.

The internal evidences show that at least a good number of the chapters on gifts, vows, bath etc. was inserted into the Matsya-p at the same time. In Mat 53, 1 the sages ask Sūta not only to enumerate the Purānas but also to 'deal exhaustively with the piety of making gifts' (*dāna-dharmān aśesam tu*). Consequently, in chap 53, (verses 3 ff) Sūta speaks of the Purānas and Upapurānas and the gifts of the former on particular occasions. Next, proceeding to speak on the gifts connected with vows and fasts in chapters 54 ff, he begins saying .

‘*atah param pravakṣyāmi dāna-dharmān aśesatah |*
vratopavāsa-samyuktān yathā matsyoditūn iha |
mahādevasya samvāde nāradaśya ca dhīmatah ||’

The expression ‘*pravakṣyāmi dāna-dharmān aśesatah*’ is certainly used by Sūta in compliance with the request made by the sages in Mat 53, 1. It, therefore, shows that chap. 53 and those chapters (viz., 54-57, 61, 68 and 83-92) on vows and gifts (because the making of ceremonial gifts also is to be accompanied with fasting) in which Mahādeva and Nārada are the interlocutors are contemporaneous⁷¹. The genuineness of these latter chapters need not be doubted, for the request made by Nārada to Śiva in Mat 54, 4 to tell him how the Śiva- and Viṣṇu-worshippers could attain health, wealth, beauty etc., shows that the chapters in which Mahādeva and Nārada are to be

⁷¹ Verses 59-63 of chap 53, which give the titles and contents of the Upapurānas, must be taken as spurious for the following reasons —

- (i) Nothing is said about the gift of any of the Upapurānas though the chapter is on *dāna-dharma*;
- (ii) there is no mention of the Upapurānas in verses other than those mentioned above;
- (iii) though in verses following verse 63 the classification and contents of the Purānas and the titles and extents of the epics are given, there is not even a single word on the Upapurānas.

These verses are, however, not very late additions, for Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, who quotes all these verses except 59a in his *Nityācūapradīpa*, refers to Lakṣmīdhara's explanation of verse 63 (*astūḍaśabhyas tu prthak purānam*) as meaning the Kalikā-purāṇa etc. (see *Nityācūapradīpa*, p. 18), and Hemādri quotes verses 59b-61 and 62c-63 in his *Caturvaṅga-cintāmaṇi*, vol. II, part 1, pp 21-22.

The omission of these verses by Aparārka who quotes verses 3-4, 11-20, 22-25a and 26b-56a in his com. on Yāj, by Ballāṣena who quotes verses 3-4 and 11-56 in his *Dānasāgara*, by Candēśvara who has a few verses in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, and by Govindānanda who has a few lines in his *Dānakūṭā-Kaumudī*, should not be taken in favour of a very late date. These authors, who drew upon Mat 53 in connection with gifts, had nothing to do with verses 59-63 in which there is no mention of gift.

the interlocutors should be Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, and in fact they are so with the only exception of chap. 61 (dealing with Agastya-pūjā). Chapters 83-92 were all inserted at the same time in a group, for they are all enumerated by Śiva at the very beginning of these chapters (viz., in Mat 83, 4-6). All these contemporaneous chapters (viz., 54-57, 61, 68 and 83-92) are interspersed by many others (viz., chaps 58-60, 62-65, 66-67, 69-80 and 81-82) on vows, consecration, bath and gifts, in which the interlocutors differ⁷². The unconnected position of these chapters, and the breaches they create in the dialogue between Mahādeva and Nārada, prove their comparatively late dates. In these comparatively late chapters, again, there are some which seem to date still later. These are chapters 65, 73 and 76. The list of contents of the Matsya given in chap 291 does not mention the Aksaya-trīyā-vrata (chap. 65), Guru-śukra-pūjā-vidhi (chap. 73) and Viṣṇu-vrata (chap. 99). Therefore, these seem to be later additions. This doubt is further strengthened by their absence from the Padma-p (Srsti-kh). The late age of chap 76 (dealing with the Phalasaptamī-vrata) is evidenced by the non-mention of this Vrata in Mat 74, 2-3 wherein Śiva names the Saura Vratas he afterwards speaks of in chaps. 74-75 and 77-80.

Thus we get three groups of chapters which are arranged in order of priority :

- (1) chaps 53 (especially verses 1-58 and 64 to the end), 54-57, 61, 68 and 83-92,
- (2) chaps 58-60, 62-64, 66-67, 69-72, 74-75, 77-80 and 81-82,
- and (3) chaps 65, 73 and 76

Now, Narasimha Vajapeyin of Orissa quotes one verse from chap 53 in his Nityācārapradīpa, Govindānanda quotes a number of verses from chaps 53 and 58 in his Dīnakriyā-kaumudī; Candēśvara quotes the entire chapters 56 and 63 and also some verses from chaps 53, 61 and 70 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, Madanapāla quotes verses from chap. 53 in his Madana-pārijāta; Hemādri draws profusely upon chaps. 53-54, 58-60, 62, 67, 71-72 and 82 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi;

⁷² Chaps 54-57 are told by Mahādeva to Nārada
 " 58-60 " " " Matsya to Manu
 Chap 61 is " " Mahādeva to Nārada
 Chaps 62-65 are , " Mahādeva to Umā
 " 66-67 " " " Matsya to Manu
 Chap 68 is " " Mahādeva to Nārada
 Chaps 69-80 are " " Śiva to Brahmā
 " 81-82 " " " Matsya to Manu.
 " 83-92 " " " Mahādeva to Nārada
 Chap 93 is " " Vaiṣampāyana to Śaunaka
 " 94 " " " Śiva to (?)
 Chaps. 95-112 are " " Nandikeśvara to Nārada

Ballālasena quotes the entire chapters 82-92 and also verses from chap. 53 in his *Dānasāgara*; he also quotes five verses from chap. 67 in his *Adbhutasāgara*; Aparārka quotes almost the entire chapters 53, 58-59 and 82-92 in his com. on *Yāj*, and Jīmūtavāhana quotes a verse from chap. 53 in his *Kālaviveka* (see App). These quotations made by the Nibandha-writers hailing from different parts of India show that the chapters of at least the first two groups were inserted into the *Matsya-p* much earlier than the age in which they flourished. Otherwise, such widespread circulation would have been impossible. So these chapters must be dated not later than 950 A.D. Again, many of the chapters of the first and second groups and chap. 76 of the third group have been borrowed by the *Padma-p* (*Srṣṭi-kh*) from the *Matsya*. It has already been said that this borrowing took place not later than about 950 A.D. Hence the date of the above mentioned *Smṛti*-chapters of the *Matsya*, including chap. 76, are to be placed earlier still and most probably not later than at least 900 A.D. We have said above that chap. 76 (on *Phalasaptamī-vrata*) was added later than chaps. 74-75 and 77-80 which belong to the second group. Hence at least these chapters of the second group, and consequently also those of the first, are to be dated earlier still.

The gifts of hillocks (*Acala-dāna*, chaps. 83-92) require the image of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*, which are to be placed on the artificial hillocks to be given away (cf. *Mat* 83, 15 and 91, 5), and in *Mat* 58, 24 *Brahmā* is found to be worshipped equally with the other two gods of the triad. These evidences show that the worship of *Brahmā* did not die out at the time of insertion of these chapters. *Varāhamihira*'s mention of the most prominent sects of his time⁷³ shows that *Brahmā*-worship was still popular. If, as scholars hold, this god was thrown into the background about the beginning of the 7th century A.D., then the date of chap. 58 and of the chapters on *Acala-dāna* cannot be placed later than 650 A.D. Thus we get the lower limit.

The mention of the names of the weekdays in connection with vows etc.,⁷⁴ shows that these were well-known when these chapters were added. The earliest dated mention of a weekday being traced

⁷³ *viṣṇor bhāgavatān magāms ca savituh śambhoḥ sabhasma-dvijān
mātṛñām api mātṛ-maṇḍala-vido vprān vidur brahmanah|
śūkyān sarva-kṛtsya śānta-manaso nagnān jñānām vidur
ye yam devam upāśritāḥ sva-vādhunā tais tasya kūr्या kriyā||*

Brhat-samhitā 60, 19

The mention of only the *Bhāgavatas*, and not the *Pāñcarātras*, among the worshippers of *Viṣṇu* shows that *Varāhamihira* mentions only the most powerful sects of his time. We know that the *Bhāgavatas* grew in power under the Gupta emperors who called themselves 'parama-bhāgavata'.

⁷⁴ Cf. *M.*: 55, 4, 57, 4, 66, 5; 70, 83; etc

in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D.,⁷⁵ these chapters should not be placed very much earlier than this date. Mat 53, 46-7 describe the Kūrma-p. in its Vaiṣṇava form. As it will be seen that the Viṣṇute Kūrma-p. was written between 550 and 650 A.D., this chapter cannot be earlier than 550 A.D. The mention of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu during the worship of the Naksatra-puruṣa in Mat 54 (dealing with the Naksatrapurusa-vrata) and their total absence in Brhat-samhitā, chap. 105 (dealing with the same Vrata) prove the later date of the former. The Brhat-samhitā was written about 550 A.D. Therefore the date of Mat 54 is later than 550 A.D. The inclusion of the Buddha, in Mat 54, among the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu also shows that this chapter could not have been written earlier than 550 A.D. The Mahābhārata does not mention the Buddha incarnation, though it mentions Kalki in one of the spurious verses in XII, 339. Mārkaṇḍeya names a few incarnations beginning with the Varāha and ending with Māthura (i.e., Kṛṣṇa), there being no mention of the Buddha. The Viṣṇu-p. mentions Kalki but not the Buddha. The Harivamśa also does not mention the Buddha, though it mentions Kalki. The Kūrma-p. is silent about the Buddha and Kalki. The lists of incarnations, or rather manifestations, in the Brahma-p. are the same as those in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. and the Harivamśa. The Jayākhya-samhitā (about 450 A.D.) of the Pāñcarātras does not mention the Buddha, though it mentions some of the other incarnations. The Ahirbudhnya-samhitā, which is certainly later than the Jayākhya, mentions 39 Vibhavas in which Kalki is one, but the name of the Buddha is wanting. Thus the Buddha incarnation seems to have been unknown in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Mat 47, 247, which mentions the Buddha, is undoubtedly a later interpolation, for this verse is not found in the corresponding chapters of the Vāyu and Brahmānda. Now, the mention of the Buddha incarnation in the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva (about the end of the 12th century), the Daśāvatāra-carita of Kṣemendra (11th century A.D.), a hymn by Nammalvar (alias saint Śaṭagopa, 9th century)⁷⁶, the Viṣṇupura cards (end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century), and a Pallava inscription of about the latter half of the 7th century A.D.,⁷⁷ shows that this incarnation attained popularity by the beginning of the 7th century A.D. It is highly probable, therefore, that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu from about 550 A.D. That during this time the founders of the heretical religions came to be identified

⁷⁵ Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp 88-89.

⁷⁶ ABORI, Vol. XIV, 1932-33, pp 200-201.

⁷⁷ H. Krishna Shastri, The Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. 26, p. 5.

with Viṣṇu is shown by the Brhat-samhitā (58, 45), according to which the image of the god of the Arhats (*arhatām devah*) is to be marked with the Śrī-vatsa.

From the above discussion it appears that the chapters of the first two groups were written not earlier than 550 and not later than 650 A.D.

Of the chapters of the third group, chap. 76 is, as we have seen, later than the chapters (74-75 and 77-80) of the second group. As it is found in the Padma (Srsti-kh.), it is earlier than 950 A.D. The other two chapters (65 and 73) are neither mentioned in the list of contents of the Matsya given in chap. 291 nor found in the Padma (Srsti-kh.). They are also not drawn upon by any Nibandha-writer. Therefore they may be taken to be very late additions.

Mat 7, 6-30 deal with the Madanadvādaśī-vrata observed by Diti for a son capable of killing the enemies of the Daityas. As in no other Purāṇa (except the Padma) Diti is found to observe this vow, this portion of Mat 7 seems to have been interpolated later. This interpolation was, however, made earlier than Hemādri (see App) and most probably than 900 A.D., for these verses occur in the Padma-p. (Srsti-kh.).

Mat 95-101 deal with vows (Vratas)—Śaiva, Saura and Vaisṇava. All of these chapters do not seem to belong to the same date. In Mat 95 Śiva, the speaker in the earlier chapters on vows and gifts, refers Nārada to Nandikeśvara, who is to speak on 'Māheśvara Dharma'. Consequently, Nārada asks Nandikeśvara to tell him about 'Māheśvara Vrata', and the latter describes the Śiva-caturdaśī-vrata (chap. 95) and the Sarvaphalatyāga-vrata (chap. 96), both of which are Śaiva. But in chaps. 97-112, which also are ascribed to Nandikeśvara, the Saura and Vaisṇava Vratas and Prayāga-māhātmya are treated of. Hence these chapters (97-112) must have been added by the non-Śaivas later than chaps. 95-96. The strictly Śaiva character of chaps. 95-96, as contrasted with those chapters on vows and gifts in which Śiva and Nārada are the interlocutors, and the fact that Nandikeśvara, the narrator in chaps. 95-96, is introduced to Nārada by Śiva, show that chaps. 95-96 were added by a Śaiva later than those chapters in which Śiva and Nārada are the interlocutors. Therefore, these two chapters (95-96) cannot be dated earlier than 600 A.D. Now, Candēśvara quotes verses from chaps. 95 and 101 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, Madanapāla from chap. 101 in his Madana-pārijāta, Hemādri from chaps. 95-97, 99 and 101 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, and Devaṇabhatta from chap. 101 in his Smṛti-candrikā (see App.). These quotations show that chaps. 95-97, 99 and 101 are to be dated earlier than 1100 A.D. Chaps. 100 and 101 have been borrowed by the Padma-p. (Srsti-kh.). Therefore,

connection with the chapters (16-22) on Śrāddha. This connection shows that the former could by no means be earlier than the latter, and it is highly probable that these two groups of chapters belong to the same date. That chaps 205-207 were inserted into the Matsya earlier than 1100 A.D. is doubtless, because Govindānanda quotes verses from chaps 205-207 in his Dānakriyā-kaumudī and Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī, Hemādri quotes almost the entire chaps. 205-207 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Ballālasena quotes the entire chapters 205 (except verse 1) and 206 (except the last verse) and three verses from chap 207 in his Dānasāgara, and Aparārka quotes chaps. 205 (except verse 1) and 206 (except the first and the last verse) in his com. on Yāj. (see App.)

Mat 274-289 deal with the sixteen Mahādānas (big donations), which, requiring the worship of Viṣṇu, are certainly Vaiṣṇava in character. The mention of these sixteen Mahādānas in chap 274 (4-10) shows that all the chapters 274-289 belong to the same date. These chapters are frequently drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers, early and late. Govindānanda quotes verses from Mat 274 in his Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī, Hemādri quotes almost the entire chaps. 274-289 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi; Ballālasena gives the entire chaps. 274-289 in his Dānasāgara; and Aparārka quotes chapters 274 (except verses 3a, 13b and 28b), 275 (except the last verse), 277 (except the last verse), 278 (except the last verse), 279, 280 (except the last verse) and 281-289 in his com. (see App.). These quotations show that these chapters must be dated not later than 1050 A.D. The Linga-purāṇa deals with the Mahādānas in II, 28 ff. Ballālasena says that the Mahādānas, dealt with in the Linga, were based on those in the Matsya⁷⁹. As in the Linga the chapters on the Mahādānas were inserted before the time of Ballālasena, the chapters (274-289) of the Matsya should be dated earlier still, and reasonably not later than 1000 A.D. The references to the worship of the images of Brahmā during the different Mahādānas⁸⁰ prove

The Viṣṇudharmottara is suspected to be the borrower for the following reasons:

- (1) In the Viṣṇudh the story of Purūravas is further continued to chap 156
- (2) Though the opening verses of Viṣṇudh. I, 148 are the same as those of Mat 115, in the former there is no chapter on Prasūyamānadhenu-dāna or Kṛṣṇājuna-dāna preceding chap. 148.
- (3) In the Viṣṇudh the chapters on Vṛṣotsarga and the story of Purūravas are introduced almost abruptly.

⁷⁹ Dānasāgara, fol. 3b—*brhad api linga-purāṇaṃ matsya-purāṇoditair mahādānaḥ*.

⁸⁰ Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu are to be worshipped on the altar constructed during the Tulāpurusa-mahādāna etc. (Mat 274, 30); in the Kalpāpādapa-mahādāna, the Kalpāpādapa is to be placed on a heap of coarse sugar (*guḍa*) with Brahmā, Viṣṇu,

that the worship of the god was still popular. So these chapters (274-289) cannot possibly be dated later than 650 A.D. The ten incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha and Kalki being mentioned in Mat 285, 7, these chapters should not be dated earlier than 550 A.D. Therefore, their date falls between 550 and 650 A.D.

Let us now take up the chapters on Tirtha. Mat 13, verses 10 to the end describe, quite incoherently, the story of the self-immolation of Satī, daughter of Dakṣa, in which she is appeased and requested to name the numerous holy places sacred to herself. The position of these verses in chap. 13 (dealing with the Pitr̥s) and their obvious Śākta character testify to their late date which is further proved by their mention of Rādhā (in Mat 13, 38—*ādhā vr̥ndāvane vane*) as well as by their position in the Padma-p (Sr̥sti-kh). Though chap. 9 of this Purāṇa is the same as Mat 13 (verses 1-9) and 14-17, these verses, which are included in Mat 13, are found in the Padma (Sr̥sti-kh.) as late as in chap. 17, verses 182-216a. Hence we may be sure that these verses were taken by the Śāktas from a common source and interpolated independently in those parts of these two Purāṇas which the interpolators thought suited for them.

Chaps. 103-112 (on Prayāga-māhātmya) of the Matsya are later than Kūr I, 35-38 which, again, cannot be dated earlier than 750 or rather 800 A.D. (see under Kūrma-p.). Hence the chapters of the Matsya should be dated not earlier than 850 A.D. As most of these chapters are profusely drawn upon by Vācaspati-miśra and Candēśvara, they are certainly not later than 1250 A.D.

The chapters on Prayāga-māhātmya, told by Mārkaṇḍeya to Yudhiṣṭhira, are not free from interpolation, for there are evidences which go against the authenticity of at least verses 1-17 of chap. 112. Though up to Mat 112, 17 the sage Mārkaṇḍeya is nowhere said to have parted with Yudhiṣṭhira, in Mat 112, 4 the former is said to have come to the latter, blessed him and then repaired to his hermitage. This is quite contradictory. Again, in Mat 112, 18 Nandikeśvara says :

*'ityuktvā sa mahābhāgo mārkaṇḍeyo mahātāpāḥ|
yudhiṣṭhirasya nṛpates tatraivāntaradhīyata|'*

The word *ityuktvā* would have been meaningless if the preceding verses were not spurious, for these verses are spoken by Vāsudeva. Hence it seems that Mat 112, 1-17 are interpolated.

Mat 180-185 (on Avimukta-kṣetra or Benares) come from a fairly early date. A comparison between these chapters and Kūr I,

Śiva and Sūrya (Mat 277, 6) ; the images of Brāhmī and Ananta-śakti are to be placed on a heap of salt in the Hema-kalpalatā-dāna (Mat 286, 6) ; and the golden image of Brahṇā is to be placed on salt during the Saptasāgara-dāna (Mat 287, 7).

30-34 (on Benares) shows that the former are earlier than the latter. Though in both the Purānas (Mat 181, 6-7 and Kūr I, 30, 16) the glories of Benares are said to have been told by Śiva to Umā on the mount Meru, the chapters of the latter consist of the glorification of some Śiva-lingas, viz., Omkāra, Kṛttivāśeśvara, Madhyameśvara etc., at Benares. They also contain some fanciful stories about the origin or power of these Lingas. Besides these, there is a story glorifying the Piśācamocana-kunda lying near the Kapardīśvara Linga. These names and stories, which are undoubtedly of later origin, are not found in the Matsya. Now, Kūr I, 30-34 are to be dated not later than the middle of the 13th century A.D. (see under Kūrma-p.) Therefore, chaps. 180-185 of the Matsya should not be placed later than 1200 A.D. As Govindānanda quotes verses from chap. 184 in his Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī, Vācaspatimiśra from chaps. 180-184 in his Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, Madanapāla from chap. 184 in his Madanapārijāta, Mādhavācārya from the same chapter in his Bhāṣya on the Parāśara-smṛiti, and Aparūka from chap. 184 in his com. on Yāj., it is certain that chaps. 180-185 were inserted into the Matsya not later than at least 1075 A.D. The strictly Śaiva character of these chapters tends to show that they were added later than 700 A.D.

Mat 186-194, on Narmadā-māhātmya, must have been composed by a Śaiva living somewhere about the northern bank of the river Narmadā⁸¹. These chapters must have been interpolated at a very late date. They seem to be later than Kūr II, 38-39 which, again, are later than 800 A.D. (see under Kūrma-p.) Their late date seems further to be proved by the fact that no Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon them.

Mat 39 and 40, treating respectively of Naraka and Āsrama-dharma, are included in the story of Yayāti extending over chaps. 25-43. This story seems to have been interpolated later, because the Padma-p. (Śṛṣṭi-kh.), in which Mat 5-24 and 44 ff. are found borrowed in the same order, omits this story. As no Nibandha-writer has been found to quote from these chapters, we are not sure about the lower limit of their date.

Bath (Snāna) is dealt with in Mat 67-68 and 102. Of these, chaps. 67 and 68 have already been dated between 550 and 650 A.D. Chap. 102, being drawn upon by Govindānanda in his Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī, by Hemādri in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and by Devanabhaṭṭa in his Smṛti-candrikā, cannot be later than 1100 A.D. As this chapter has been borrowed by the Padma-p. (Śṛṣṭi-kh.), it

⁸¹ Cf. chap. 186, verses 8a, 10 and 11 in which the Narmadā is glorified even over the Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī. Also cf. Mat 186, 52a; 190, 1 ff; etc.; wherein the northern bank of the Narmadā is said to be equal to the Rudra-loka. The Śaiva character of these chapters is quite obvious.

should not be placed later than 950 A.D. It has been shown that chaps. 97-112 are later than chaps. 95-96 which, again, are later than 600 A.D. Therefore, chap. 102 cannot possibly be earlier than 650 A. D. Thus the date of this chapter falls between 650 and 950 A. D.

Pratisthā (consecration) is the subject-matter of Mat 58-59 and 264-270. Of these, the former two have been dated between 550 and 650 A. D. The latter seven chapters, dealing with the consecration of the images of gods, are certainly contemporaneous with chaps. 258-263 in which the characteristics of the different images of gods have been laid down. A comparison between Brhat-samhitā, chap 58 (dealing with Pratimā-laksana) and Mat 258-270 shows that the former must have been earlier than the latter. The Brhat-samhitā names the following gods with their respective characteristics :

(1) Rāma, son of Daśaratha, (2) Bali, son of Virocana, (3) Baladeva, the carrier of the plough, (4) Devī (ie, Laksmī), (5) Śāmba, (6) Pradyumna, (7) the two wives of Śāmba and Pradyumna, (8) Brahmā, (9) Skanda, (10) Mahendra, (11) Śambhu, (12) the Buddha (for the Buddhists), and (13) the god of the Arhats (for the Jains).

The Matsya omits (3), (6), (7), (12) and (13) but adds the following : Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsimha, Vāmana, Rudra, Ardha-nārīśvara, Umā-Maheśvara, Śiva-Nārāyaṇa, Vināyaka, Kātyāyanī, Agni, Yama, Nairta, Varuna, Vāyu, Kuvera, Gadādhara, the Mātr̥s (viz., Brahmānī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaisnavī, Vārāhī, Indrānī, Yogeśvarī, Cāmundā and Kālikā) and Kusumāyudha. The innovations made in the chapters of the Matsya prove that they cannot be earlier than 550 A. D. As Aparārka quotes verses from chaps. 265 and 267 and Hemādri from chaps 260 and 268, they cannot be later than 1100 A. D. The retention of Brahmā by the Matsya, inspite of its additions and alterations in the list of gods given by the Brhat-samhitā, shows that Brahmā-worship did not die out. Moreover, according to the Matsya, the priest is required to be 'brahmopendra-hara-priya' (Mat 265, 4); Brāhma Mantras are to be used in consecrating the image of Brahmā (Mat 266, 39); and the gods, who are to be summoned at the time of consecrating the image of any god, include Brahmā (Mat 266, 42). All these references prove the popularity of Brahmā-worship at the time when Mat 258-270 were written. Hence these chapters are to be dated earlier than about 650 A. D.; and thus their date falls between 550 and 650 A. D.

Mat 7, 37-49 lay down the duties of pregnant women. These verses, being closely connected with the story of the birth of the Maruts, appear to come from the date when the extant Matsya was

first written, or rather compiled. That they are not later than 1100 A. D., and most probably also than 950 A. D., is shown by the quotations made from them by Devanabhatta in his *Smṛti-candrikā* and by the occurrence of these verses in the *Padma-p.* (*Sṛṣṭi-kh*).

Mat 215-243 and 252-257, treating of Rāja-dharma, Graha-yajña, Adbhuta-sānti⁸², Yātrākāla-vidhāna, Subhāśubha-nirūpana, Vāstu and Vyavahāra, should belong to the same date, because all these are meant for the king. The determination of even their approximate date is rather difficult. That they are not later than 1000 A. D. is sure, for Bhavadeva quotes verses from chap. 227 in his *Prāyaścitta-prakarana*, Aparārka from chap. 253 in his com. on Yāj., Devanabhatta from chap. 227 in his *Smṛti-candrikā*, Hemādri from chaps. 228-238 and 252-253 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, and Ballālasena from chaps. 228-238 and 240-243 in his *Adbhuta-sāgara* (see App). The reference to the unpopularity of the worship of Brahmā in Mat 225, 12-14, wherein it is said that the people worshipped the fierce (*dandīnah*—punishing) gods,—Rudra, Agni, Sūrya, Viṣṇu and others,—instead of the mild (*praśānta*—serene) Brahmā, Pūṣan and Aryaman, shows that Mat 215-243 and 252-257 cannot possibly be dated earlier than 600 or rather 650 A.D.

Mat 93 and 94 deal with Graha-sānti and Graharūpākhyāna respectively. These chapters are certainly not later than 1000 A. D., because Śūlapāṇi quotes two lines from chap. 93 in his *Vratākāla-viveka*, Hemādri quotes a good number of lines from chaps. 93 and 94 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Devanabhatta quotes a verse from chap. 93 in his *Smṛti-candrikā*, Aparārka quotes the entire chap. 94 and a good number of verses from chap. 93 in his com. on Yāj., an anonymous commentary on the *Trikāṇḍamandana* of *Trikāṇḍamandana* Bhāskaramiśra has one verse from chap. 93, and Vijñāneśvara quotes the entire chap. 94 in his *Mitākṣarā* (see App). The interlocutors (*viz.*, Vaiśampāyana and Śaunaka in chap. 93, and Śiva alone in chap. 94), who appear abruptly without any introduction but who are not found in the chapters preceding or following chaps. 93 and 94, prove that these two chapters are later than at least those chapters on Vrata and Dāna in which Śiva and Nārada are the interlocutors. These latter chapters are assigned to 550-650 A. D. Therefore, chaps. 93-94 cannot be earlier than about 650 A. D. Thus their date falls between 650 and 1000 A. D.

Yuga-dharma is dealt with in chaps. 142, 144, 145 and 165. Of these, the first three are the same as Vā 57 (verses 1-85), 58 and 59

⁸² Mat 229-238, on Adbhuta-sānti, were not written by Vṛddha-garga himself as the Matsya claims but are based on the *Utpāta-sānti* sections of a work (*viz.*, *Vṛddhagarga-samhitā*?) of the renowned astrologer. See my article in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 587 ff.

respectively. They most probably belong to the time when the extant Matsya-p borrowed some of its chapters from the Vāyu. Their position between Mat 50 and 271-273 (on the future dynasties and ages) must be due to misplacement. Mat 165, which has been borrowed by the Padma (Srṣti-kh), should be dated not later than about 950 A.D.

In connection with the Smṛti-chapters a few words may be said here on the date and authenticity of some of the remaining chapters.

Mat 52, dealing with Karma-yoga, recommends the worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya who are to be considered as 'abhedā' (not different from one another—Mat 52, 23 ff). The author of this chapter seems to be a Viṣṇu-worshipper, for he defines Vāsudeva as 'atīndriya', 'śānta', 'sūksma', 'avyakta', 'sanātana' and 'jagannmūrti', and calls Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya and others his 'vibhūti'. Therefore, the date of this chapter cannot possibly be later than 650 A.D.

The story of Purūravas in chaps. 115-120 is of comparatively late origin. It says how Purūravas, son of Budha, attained extraordinary physical beauty by fasting on every Dvādaśī Tithi and by worshipping Viṣṇu in the Himalayas respectively in two of his previous births. Hemādri and Ballālasena's quotations from Mat 115 in their Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and Dānasāgara respectively show that chaps. 115-120 are at least not later than 1100 A.D.

The story of the origin and destruction of Tripura, a city built by the demon architect Maya, is dealt with in chaps. 129-140. These chapters, except the interpolated portions if any, are earlier than the beginning of twelfth century A.D., because Ballālasena quotes a line from chap. 134 in connection with 'the burning of Tripura'.

Chaps. 146-160 deal with the birth of the demon Tāraka and his death at the hand of Kārttikeya. Of these, only chaps. 146-148 (especially except verses 1-40 of chap. 146) and chaps. 153-160 (especially except verses 1-221 and 228b to the end of chap. 153, and verses 447-485 of chap. 154) have been borrowed by the Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-kh.). So, the intervening chaps. 149-152, on the description of a war between the gods and demons, seem to be interpolations. As Ballālasena quotes in his Adbhutasāgara a line from chap. 153 by mentioning that it is taken from the story of the war between the gods and demons⁸⁸, we can be sure that chaps. 146-148 and 153-160, especially except the verses noted above, are earlier than 1100 A.D. Again, chaps. 39-41 of the Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-kh.), which tally considerably with chaps. 146-148 and 153-160, are to be dated between 800 and 950 A.D., and most probably in the latter half of the eighth

⁸⁸ Cf. Adbhs., p. 478—*matsya-purāṇe devāsura-yuddha-nimittam*.

century A.D. (see under Padma-p). So, Mat 146-148 and 153-160 (especially except the verses noted above) are to be dated earlier than 800 A.D.

Chaps. 161-163 deal with the killing of Hīranyakaśipu by the Man-lion, and chap. 172, which belongs to the group consisting of the closely interrelated chaps. 169-179, with the Tārakāmaya-yuddha between the gods on the one side and the demons, Yakṣas, serpents, Rākṣasas etc. on the other. As Ballālasena quotes in his Adbhuta-sāgara a good number of verses from chaps. 163 and 172 by expressly mentioning the stories⁸⁴ and as Padma-p. (Srsti-kh.), chaps. 42, 37-38 and 43 (verses 6b-9a and 77-85a), which are borrowed from Mat 161-163, 169-178 and 179 (verses 1-13a) respectively, are to be dated between 800 and 950 A.D. and most probably in the former half of the eighth century A.D.⁸⁵, the above-mentioned chapters (161-163, 169-178, and verses 1-13a of chap. 179) of the Matsya-p. must be placed earlier than 750 A.D., if not 700.

The story of Sāvitrī in chaps. 208-214, on account of its innovations befitting later taste, can be taken to be a late interpolation. It says that Aśvapati, king of Madra, worshipped the goddess Sāvitrī and was gifted with a daughter who was consequently named after the goddess, and that four days before the death of Satyavat, Sāvitrī fasted for three days and observed the Sāvitrī-vrata. Besides these, there are also other innovations.

Pitr-vamśa has been dealt with in chaps. 13-15, Pitr-gāthā in chap. 204 and Kalpa-kīrtana in chap. 290. Of these, chap. 15 has been drawn upon by Hemādri and Aparārka, and chaps. 13-14, 204 and 290 by the former. So, all these chapters should be dated earlier than 1100 A.D.

The results of the above analysis are as follows :

Chaps. 1-10 (especially except verses 6-30 of chap. 7);	} —Either in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth cen- tury A.D.
„ 11-12, 23-24 and 43-46;	
„ 47-50 and 271-273; and	
„ 51, 114, 124-8, 141-5.	
„ 13-15	Earlier than 1100 A.D.
Chap. 52	Not later than 650 A.D.
Chaps. 115-120	Comparatively late, but not later than 1100 A.D.

⁸⁴ See Adbhs., pp. 20, 23, 50, etc., and pp. 319, 358 and 701.

⁸⁵ See under Padma-p.

Chaps.	129-140	. . .	Earlier than 1100 A.D.
Chap	146 (except verses 1-40) ;	}	—Earlier than 1100 A.D. and most probably than 800 A.D.
Chaps	147-148 ;		
Chap.	153 (except verses 1-221 and 228b to the end) ;		
„	154 (except verses 447-485) ;		
Chaps.	155-160.		
Chaps.	149-152	. . .	Interpolated most probably later than the chapters of the immediately preceding group.
Chaps.	161-163 ;	}	—Earlier than 750 A.D., if not 700.
„	169-178 ; and		
Chap.	179 (verses 1-13a).		
Chap.	204	. . .	Earlier than 1100 A.D.
Chaps.	208-214	. . .	Late interpolations.
Chap.	290	. . .	Earlier than 1100 A.D.

For the dates of the Smṛti-chapters see the chronological table under Matsya-purāṇa in Chap. IV.

From what has been said above about the dates of the different chapters of the Matsya-p. it appears that this Purāṇa was subjected to additions, and also perhaps to alterations, more than once. That some of its chapters have been lost is shown by those quotations (made by Hemādri, Devanabhaṭṭa and Aparārka on Vrata, Dāna, Ekādaśī-upavāsa, Prāyaścitta etc.) which are not found in the extant Matsya.

The extant Matsya-p. seems to have been written, or rather compiled, originally by the Vaisnavas. At least this impression is created by the earlier portions that have been retained. In Mat 1, 23-25 the supernatural power, which the Fish displays in rapid growth and huge size, is said to be possible only with Vāsudeva, for, Manu says, 'none other than he can be such'; Mat 9, 39 says that at the end of each thousand years Manus perish and 'Brahmā and other gods' attain the proximity of Viṣṇu ; in Mat 23, 17 Nārāyaṇa is called *paramātmān* ; in Mat 24 (verses 11, 36 etc.) many ancient kings, viz., Purūravas, Rājī and others, are said to have practised austerity for the favour of Viṣṇu ; and so on. In the verses referred to above Viṣṇu has been assigned the highest position, and these seem to be the traces of the originally Vaiṣṇava character of the Matsya.

On the strength of the great prominence given to the region about the river Godāvārī in Mat 114, 37-39 (on geography) it has been suggested that the place of composition of the Matsya-p. was Nasī⁸⁶. This suggestion seems to have a very weak basis, for these verses of the Matsya tally with Vā 45, 112-114, and it has been shown that the Matsya borrowed some chapters from the Vāyu. The close agreement of the majority of the geographical chapters in the two Purāṇas seems to confirm the indebtedness of the Matsya to the Vāyu. Hence to find out the place of origin of the present Matsya we shall have to look to those of its original chapters which have not been found borrowed from any other work. Such an one is chap. 2. In it the river Narmadā, and not the famous Ganges, is said to remain even after the destruction of the world (cf. Mat 2, 13-14). Elsewhere, in chap. 15 (which most probably belongs to a little later date and which has a few verses in common with Vā 73), this river, "which flows through the Deccan", is called the 'mind-born daughter' of the Somapa Pitrs living in the Mānasa-loka (cf. Mat 15, 25-28). These passages tend to show that the Matsya-p. was composed and circulated by Vaisnavite people living somewhere about the river Narmadā.

6. THE BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA.

The Bhāgavata is the most popular of the extant Purāṇas. It belongs to the Bhāgavatas and is divided into 12 Skandhas or books dealing with cosmogony, genealogies, myths, legends etc. It also contains a few chapters on Smṛti-matter, viz., III, 30 on the results of actions (Karma-vipāka), VII, 11-13 and XI, 17-18 on the duties of the castes and Āśramas, and VII, 14-15 on funeral sacrifices and holy places.

It has been held by the Śāktas that the Bhāgavata is not a Mahāpurāṇa as the Vaisnavas claim. But these Śāktas themselves are not unanimous about the identity of the 'Bhāgavata' named in the lists of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. Some of them say that it is the Kālikā-purāṇa which, on account of its treatment of the birth and exploits of Bhagavatī, is called 'Bhāgavata'. Some, again, claim that it is the Devībhāgavata. It is, therefore, necessary to see which one is the real Mahāpurāṇa.

An examination of the Nibandhas shows that the authors of these works are all in favour of the Bhāgavata (i.e., Vaisnava Bhāgavata). Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, a noted Nibandha-writer of Orissa, disapproves the claim of the Kālikā-purāṇa to be the 'Bhāga-

⁸⁶ Haraprasad Shastri, Cat of Sans. Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Purāṇa, Preface, p. cxc.

vata Mahāpurāṇa' by referring to the opinion of Laksmīdhara⁸⁷. The verses quoted from the 'Bhāgavata' by Ballālasena, Madhvācārya, Hemādri, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Gapālabhatta and others, are very often found in the present Bhāgavata but not in the Kālikā-p or the Devībhāgavata. Of these two latter Purāṇas, or rather Upapurāṇas, the Kālikā has been quoted by Aparārka, Ballālasena, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Madanapāla, Śūlapāni, Govindānanda, Raghunandana and others with the express mention of its well-known title; whereas the name of the Devībhāgavata has not been mentioned in any of the numerous Nibandhas we have examined. The superior position of the Bhāgavata over the Devībhāgavata is further established by a comparison of their contents. In the Bhāgavata there is no mention of the Devībhāgavata nor is there any attempt to prove its own superior position, but in the Devībhāgavata (I, 3, 16) the Bhāgavata has been included among the Upapurāṇas obviously with a view to establishing the former's claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa. Further, in the Bhāgavata, Śuka, son of Vyāsa, is presented as given to complete renunciation of the world from his childhood. But the author of the Devībhāgavata probably saw that an ideal character like Śuka might instigate others, having much less indifference, to renounce the world and thus disturb the discipline in society. Hence he painted Śuka in a quite different colour in the Devībhāgavata. Here Śuka, who is about to give up the world, goes to Janaka at the request of Vyāsa. Janaka convinces him that it is highly necessary to pass through all the stages of life before taking up Samnyāsa; otherwise the real taste of worldly enjoyments remains unknown and the mind is not strengthened. Consequently, Śuka gives up the idea of renunciation and repairs to his father's hermitage to live with him. All the above evidences taken together make it likely that the Bhāgavata is the real Mahāpurāṇa.

As to the date of the Bhāgavata, scholars are generally of opinion that it is a very late work not earlier than the 9th century A.D.⁸⁸ But such a late date cannot reasonably be given to the Purāṇa. It has been said above that the verses quoted by Ballālasena (in his

⁸⁷ *astādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇam yat tu drīyate|
vijānidhvam muni-śreṣṭhās tad ctebhyo vimrgatam||
vinirgatam samudbhūtam|yathā kālikā-purāṇādinīti laksmīdharah|evam ca sati
bhagavatya idam bhāgavatam iti kālikā-purāṇam bhāgavata-padenoktam iti
ye vadanti te nirastāh|*—Nityācārapradīpa, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁸ C. V. Vaidya, JBBRAS, 1925, pp. 144 ff; Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc., p. 49; Pargiter, AIHT, p. 80; Farquhar, outline, pp. 229 ff.; Winternitz, Ind. Lit., Vol. I, p. 556; and so on.

Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf placed the Bhāgavata in the 13th century A.D.

Adbhs), Hemādri, Madhvācārya, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa and others from the 'Bhāgavata', are very often found in the present Bhāgavata. In his *Smṛti-candrikā* (Vol. I, p. 3) Devaṇabhaṭṭa quotes a few verses containing the names of the eighteen Mahā-purāṇas including the 'Bhāgavata'. Ballālasena names a Bhāgavata-purāṇa in his *Dānasāgara* (fol. 3b). That the Bhāgavata-purāṇa mentioned in the *Dānasāgara* is the same as the present Bhāgavata is proved by the following evidences. On fol. 3b of the *Dānasāgara* Ballālasena says that he did not draw upon the 'Bhāgavata' because it did not contain any chapter on gifts⁸⁹. As a matter of fact the present Bhāgavata contains no chapter on this topic, whereas in the *Devībhāgavata* there is one, viz., IX, 29. Hence the *Devībhāgavata* is not the 'Bhāgavata' which Ballālasena means. As Ballālasena quotes in his *Dānasāgara* a number of verses from the *Kālikā-p.* by expressly mentioning its title, this Purāṇa also cannot be meant by the name 'Bhāgavata'. Further, Ballālasena names with derision those Purāṇas which were influenced by Tantricism. But he expresses no such feeling about the 'Bhāgavata'. Hence it is sure that Ballālasena means the present Bhāgavata, which is, therefore, to be dated not later than 1050 A.D. Ānandatīrtha Madhva wrote a well-known com. on the Bhāgavata. He also draws upon the Purāṇa in his *Bhāsyas* on the *Brahmasūtra* (? see App. II) and the *Bhagavadgītā*. In the *Gītā-bhāṣya* (p. 7) he quotes from the *Nārāyaṇāstākṣarakalpa* a verse which mentions the Bhāgavata as a work of Vyāsa, and in another quotation from the 'Nārādīya' the Purāṇa is called 'Viṣṇu-veda' (see *Gītā-bhāṣya*, p. 152). In his *Madhva-vijaya* (IV, 49-52), Nārāyaṇa Panditācārya, son of a direct disciple of Madhva, informs us that textual problems relating to the Bhāgavata had already begun in Madhva's time. The great teacher Rāmānuja also was not unacquainted with the Bhāgavata⁹⁰. Alberūnī, in his account of India, gives two lists of Purāṇas. About one of these lists he says: "Another somewhat different list of Purāṇas has been read to me from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. I give it here in extenso Brāhma, Pādma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhāgavata, i.e., Vāsudeva" ⁹¹. The use of the term 'Vāsudeva' with reference to the Bhāgavata shows that Alberūnī means the (Vaisnava) Bhāgavata, and that claims had already begun to be made by other works to be known as Bhāgavata. Hence the date of the Bhāgavata preceded that of Alberūnī by such a long period of time that the position of the Bhāgavata had already become enviable. Hence the date of the Bhāgavata cannot possibly be later than 800 A.D.

⁸⁹ *bhāgavatam ca purāṇam brahmāṇḍam caiva nārādīyam ca|
dāna-vṛddhi-śūnyam etat trayam iha na naban(d?)dham avadhārya||*

⁹⁰ ABORI, XIV, 1932-33, pp. 186 ff. ⁹¹ Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 181.

A few verses are found quoted from the 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' in Abhinavagupta's Gītārtha-samgraha, a com on the Bhagavad-gītā. But these verses, which tally with Bhāg II, 1, 3-4 and 12 and XI, 20, 17, are not reliable; because in an old Ms written in Sāradā characters they are found not in the running text of the commentary but on the margin. Hence it may be that these verses were written by some one on the margin of his Ms but were later incorporated into the text by the scribes who copied from this Ms.⁹² Abhinavagupta's mention of 'gajendra-moksana' also need not be taken to point to the Bhāgavata, because chapters on 'gajendra-moksana' are found in other Purāṇas also. For instance, Vām 85 and Visnudharmottara I, 194 deal with 'gajendra-moksana'. The verse quoted from the 'Bhāgavata' in Gaudapāda's Uttaragītā-bhāṣya (p 66, Bombay ed, p. 27) is also equally doubtful. In a Ms⁹³, which appears to preserve an older version of the Bhāṣya, this verse is not found. How the text of the Bhāṣya was corrupted with later additions and alterations is shown best by a quotation from a Tantra occurring in another Ms⁹⁴ of the same work. It is to be noted that no quotation from any Tantra is found in the printed editions or the other Ms referred to above. Hence it seems that the verse under consideration is spurious.

In spite of the little help rendered by the doubtful verses mentioned above, the Bhāgavata does not seem to be a late work. A comparison, so far as theology is concerned, between this and the Kūrma-p. shows that the Bhāgavata is earlier than the Visnuite Kūrma-p., which was, unlike the Bhāgavata, much influenced by Śākta ideas (see under Kūrma-p). The date of the Visnuite Kūrma-p. is to be placed between 550 and 650 A.D. So the Bhāgavata cannot possibly be dated later than 600 A.D. Thus we get the lower limit of its date.

It has been said⁹⁵ that the Visnu-p. is earlier than the Bhāgavata. The latter 'contains the biography of Kṛṣṇa which is here given in much greater detail than in the Visnu-p. and in the Hari-vamśa⁹⁶'. Hence it seems to be later than the Hari-vamśa also. The latter being dated about 400 A.D., the Bhāgavata cannot possibly be earlier than about 500 A.D. Thus the date of composition of the Bhāgavata falls in the sixth century A.D. It is highly probable that the Purāṇa was composed in the former half of this century⁹⁷.

⁹² ABORI, XV, 1933-34, p. 248. ⁹³ No. 4504, D. U. Mss Lib.

⁹⁴ No. K558E, D. U. Mss Lib., fol. 10a. ⁹⁵ See under Viṣṇu-purāṇa.

⁹⁶ Winternitz, Ind. Lit., I, p. 557.

⁹⁷ There are also other evidences which confirm the above date of the Purāṇa, viz., I. (1) The two verses of the Māthara-vṛtti (on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhyā-kāṇḍas 2 and 51), which, as B. N. Krishnamurti Sharma has pointed

The date of the Smṛti-chapters of the Bhāgavata is most probably the same as that of the Purāna itself. It is not, however, possible to say anything definitely. If they are interpolated, they

out in ABORI, XIV, pp 216-7, have their parallels in the Bhāgavata-p (I, 8, 52 and I, 6, 35), do not appear in Paramārtha's Chinese translation of the Vṛtti. So, the text of the Māthara-vṛtti is doubtful and cannot, therefore, be used to assign the Bhāgavata to a date earlier than that of the Vṛtti

- (u) The mention of the Tamil Vaisnava saints in Bhāg XI, 5, 38-40, and of the Hūnas as accepting Vaisnavism in Bhāg II, 4, 18 and II, 7, 46 shows that the Bhāgavata cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the fifth century A D
- II (i) Nār I, 96 gives the contents of a 'Bhāgavata' which agree with those of our present Bhāgavata
- (ii) In its incomplete list of the Mahāpurānas the Brhaddharma-purāna (25, 20 f) names, in place of the 'Bhāgavata', the Mahābhāgavata which is a clear protest against the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa in the Bhāgavata
- (iii) 'If the Govindāstaka be a genuine work of Śaṅkara, as the sixteenth-century Bengal Vaisnava writer, Jiva Gosvāmin, thought and as Belvalkar and others of this day think, Śaṅkara must have known the Bhāgavata'
- (iv) 'While the author of the Purāna appears to be familiar with the "Ājātavāda" doctrine, he does not know the "Anurvacanīyātā" doctrine posited by Śaṅkara'
- (v) In the chapter on Balarāma's pilgrimage in Bhāg X, there is no mention of Puri which is said to have been known to Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja

The view put forth by Amarnath Roy in BSOS, Vol VIII, 1935-7, pp 107 ff that the Bhāgavata has been influenced by the Kāṅkās of Gaudapāda seems to have a very weak basis, because the philosophical ideas, words and similes found common to the Bhāgavata and the Kāṅkās are of a general character and might have been derived by the former from works used by Gaudapāda as his sources. The use of old terms and ideas is not at all exceptional with the Bhāgavata. Other purānas also are often found to have derived words, ideas and similes from very ancient sources.

Even if the influence of the Gaudapāda-kāṅkās on the Bhāgavata could be proved finally, it would hardly affect the date to which we have assigned the Purāna, the date of Gaudapāda himself being more or less debatable. Barnett (JRAS, 1910, pp 1361 f) and Jacobi (JAOS, 1913, pp 51 f.) place Gaudapāda not later than 500 A D

Mat 53, 20-21 describe the 'Bhāgavata' as follows:

*yatrādṛkṛtya gāyatrīm varnyate dharma-vistarah|
vṛtrāsura-vadhopeyam tad bhāgavatam ucyate||
śārasvatasya kalpasya madhye ye syur narottamāḥ|
tad-vṛttāntodbhavam loke tad bhāgavatam ucyate||*

This description does not agree fully with the contents of the present Bhāgavata which begins with the Gāyatri and contains the story of the killing of Vṛtra but does not refer to the Śārasvata Kalpa. On the other hand, it is said in Bhāg II, 8, 23 that the Bhagavat declared the Bhāgavata to Brahmā in the Brahma-kalpa. So, it seems that there was an earlier Bhāgavata which was the prototype of the present Bhāgavata and from which chapters have been retained in the latter. It is most probably this earlier work which is mentioned in Viṣ III, 6, 22, Kūr I, 1, 13, etc.

have been connected with the original parts in such a way that it is very difficult to separate them.

The inclusion of the Buddha in the three lists of the incarnations of Viṣṇu⁹⁸ need not disprove the above date. These lists differ from one another in length as well as order. So they can never be the works of a single hand. Of these three, those given in Bhāg I, 8 and VI, 8 are undoubtedly spurious⁹⁹. The remaining one also does not seem to have belonged originally to the Bhāgavata.

It can hardly be denied that the Bhāgavata has been revised and emended at times. But the emendations have been made so carefully that it is very difficult to find them out. The mention of Tulasī, Tantra, the ten characteristics of a 'Mahāpurāṇa', etc. may be due to these revisions and emendations.

7. THE KŪRMA-PURĀṆA¹⁰⁰.

The extant Kūrma-p., which is divided into two books Pūrva and Uttara, contains a good number of chapters on Hindu customs; viz., Kūr I, 2-3 and II, 12-15, 19, 24-25 and 27-29 deal with the duties of the four castes and Āśramas, II, 16 with customs in general, II, 18-19 with the daily duties, II, 17 with eatables and non-eatables, II, 20-22 with funeral ceremony, II, 23 with impurity due to births and deaths, II, 26 with gifts, II, 30 and 32-33 with expiation, I, 30-38 and II, 34-42 with holy places, I, 28 with Yuga-dharma, and I, 29 with the nature of the Kali age (Kali-svarūpa).

The Kūrma-p. informs us that the entire Purāṇa of this title consisted of four Saṃhitās, viz., Brāhmī, Bhāgavatī, Saurī and Vaisṇavī, and that the copy of the Purāṇa which is now available is only a part named Brāhmī Saṃhitā¹⁰¹. Of the other three Saṃhitās

⁹⁸ See Bhāg I, 3, II, 7 and VI, 8.

⁹⁹ See IHQ, Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 253-256.

¹⁰⁰ The ASB ed is generally the same as the Vāṅga. ed. The corresponding chapters in the two editions are the following:

ASB ed.			Vāṅga ed.	
I,	1-27	=	I,	1-27 respectively.
	28-29	=		28.
	30-53	=		29-52 respectively.
II,	1-31	=	II,	1-31 respectively.
	32-33	=		32.
	34-45	=		33-44 respectively.

There are, of course, occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Kūr I, 1, 21-23.

By their mention of the Kūrma-p. as consisting of two Bhāgas, the Saura-p. (9, 11), Skanda-p. (V, iii, 1, 42), etc. refer definitely to the extant Kūrma.

which seem to be lost, the extant Kūrma-p. gives us no information. The Nāradiya-purāṇa, however, contains a list of contents of all the four Samhitās, the contents of the Brāhmī Samhitā tallying fully with those of the extant Kūrma. According to the Nāradiya, the Bhāgavati Samhitā, which consisted of five Pādas (parts) and was termed 'Pañca-padi', dealt separately with the means of livelihood of the different castes,—the first Pāda being given to the means of livelihood of the Brāhmins, the second to those of the Kṣatriyas, the third to those of the Vaiśyas, the fourth to those of the Śūdras, and the fifth to those of the mixed castes; the Saurī Samhitā was divided into six parts dealing with the methods of performing the 'six acts' (Ṣatkarma, viz, Vaśīkarana, Mārana, Uccātana etc.); and the Vaisnavī Samhitā was divided into four Pādas dealing with Moksa-dharma for the twice-born. As regards the lengths of these four Samhitās the Nāradiya-p says that they contained 6000, 4000, 2000 and 5000 verses respectively¹⁰².

The present Kūrma-p betrays the two main stages¹⁰³ through which it has passed to attain its present form. The earlier portions—especially the first two chapters of book I—which have escaped, of course not totally, the interfering hands of the rival sectaries, show that the Kūrma originally belonged most probably to the Pāñcarātras and that afterwards it was appropriated by the Pāśupatas who added to it many new myths, legends, accounts of holy places and the like in order to attain their sectarian end.

The first two chapters of the Kūrma-p. strike the keynote of the whole work. The summary of contents of these two introductory chapters is given with a view to showing not only the originality of these two chapters but also their vital connection with the contents of those other chapters which seem to have belonged to the Kūrma-p. in its Viṣṇuite form. In Kūr I, 1 the sages of the Naimisa forest ask Lomaharsana to narrate the Purāṇa. Consequently, Lomaharsana refers to the five characteristics of the Purāṇas, names the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas, mentions the four Samhitās of the Kūrma, and proceeds to report what Viṣṇu in the form of the Tortoise said to the gods and sages who attended the churning of the ocean of milk. During the churning, Lomaharsana says, Śrī arose and was taken by Viṣṇu who introduced her as his own Śakti to the inquisitive gods and sages. The latter then asked the Tortoise to narrate what would happen at 'kāla-ksaya'. Consequently, the Tortoise began with the story of Indradyumna to whom, he said, he had formerly narrated the Purāṇa-samhitā and given instructions

¹⁰² Nār I (Pūrva-khaṇḍa), 106, 1-22.

¹⁰³ Though there are traces of Śākta and Nakulīśa influence in Kūr I, 12 and I, 52 respectively, they are negligible.

on Karman (meaning the duties of the castes and Āśramas) and Jñāna. Though the Tortoise narrated briefly the story of Indradyumna referring to the latter's desire to gain knowledge of the supreme God (i.e., Visnu-Brahma), the appearance of Śrī who had referred him to Visnu, and the appearance of Visnu who had told Indradyumna how the supreme God could be experienced through Jñāna and Bhakti by those obeying the rules of castes and stages, the gods and the sages were not satisfied with it. They asked the Tortoise to repeat what he had said to Indradyumna. Here ends Kūr I, 1. The next chapter narrates what the Tortoise said to his audience; viz., the origin of Brahmā, Rudra and Śrī from Visnu himself; the appointment of Śrī to delude the people with a view to compelling them to undergo rebirths; the creation of the nine sages, the four Vedas and the four castes by Brahmā, and the establishment of the rules of Dharma for the different castes and stages of life.

The originality of these two introductory chapters is shown by the vital connection which the story of Indradyumna has with the narration of the Purāṇa. As regards the contents of the Kūrma-p. the Matsya says: "That in which Janārdana, in the form of a Tortoise, in the region under the earth, explained the glories of duty, wealth, pleasure and liberation through the story of Indradyumna to the sages in the proximity of Śakra, which refers to the Laksmī-kalpa, and contains eighteen thousand verses, is the Kūrma-purāṇa"¹⁰⁴. The Agni¹⁰⁵ and the Nāradiya-p.¹⁰⁶ also say that the Kūrma-p. was narrated by the Tortoise through the story of Indradyumna. Thus these Purāṇas testify to the traditional connection of the story of Indradyumna with the narration of the Purāṇa. The originality of these two chapters is further established by the interpolations, some of which were made by the worshippers of Śiva and Brahmā, even in these chapters. For examples we may refer to Kūr I, 1, 107-121 in which Indradyumna is made quite irrelevantly to go to see Brahmā, obviously with a view to adding to the glory of the latter; to Kūr I, 2, 91 ff. wherein the position of Śiva seems

¹⁰⁴ *yatra dharmārtha-kāmānām mokṣasya ca rasātale|*
māhātmyam kathayāmāsa kūrmarūpi janārdanaḥ||
indradyumna-prasaṅgena rṣibhyaḥ śakra-saṃnidhau|
aṣṭādaśa sāhasrāṇi lakṣmī-kalpānusāṅgikam|| Mat 53, 46-47.

¹⁰⁵ *kūrmam cāṣṭa-sahasraṃ ca kūrmoktam ca rasātale|*
*indradyumna-prasaṅgena * * * * ||* Ag 272, 19.

¹⁰⁶ *lakṣmī-kalpānucaritam yatra kūrma-vapur hariḥ||*
dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣāṇāṃ māhātmyam ca prthak prthak|
indradyumna-prasaṅgena prāharsibhyo dayānvitak||
tat sapṭadaśa-sāhasraṃ sa-catuhṣaṇṭhaṇ subham|

to be raised higher than that of Viṣṇu by directing the application of the three kinds of meditation (bhāvanā) to him and by attaching more importance to the Śaiva sect-mark 'tripuṇḍra', wherein Pradhāna comprising Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva is said to dwell; and most probably also to Kūr I, 1, 16-20 in which the eighteen Upapurāṇas have been named.

We now turn to examine the theology of these two chapters, because this examination will reveal the earlier character of the Purāṇa. In these two chapters Viṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa Hṛsikeśa, Vāsudeva etc.) is identified with the supreme Brahma. He is described as imperishable, eternal, indivisible and higher than the highest¹⁰⁷. In Kūr I, 1, 69-79 Indradyumna eulogises Viṣṇu by attaching to him all the attributes which are expressive of the supreme Brahma. Here Viṣṇu is described as 'viśvātman', 'paramātmān', 'nirguna', 'niṣkala', 'viśvarūpa', 'nirvikāra', 'niṣprapañca', 'ādimadhyānta-hīna', 'jñāna-gamya', 'bhedābheda-vihīna', 'ānandarūpin', 'ananta-mūrti', 'cinnātra' and the like and is called Brahma capable of being experienced only through knowledge. In several other places Viṣṇu identifies his own self with the only Reality—the supreme Brahma¹⁰⁸. There seems to be a distinction made between Viṣṇu-Brahma and the inferior Viṣṇu of the Trinity. The former is 'akṣara' and 'gūḍha-rūpa', but the latter is under the influence of Kāla and manifests himself before worshippers.

Śrī, the wife of Viṣṇu, is his Śakti. She is said to have been born of Viṣṇu himself in the Śrī-kalpa¹⁰⁹ and is characterised by the same signs as those of her consort¹¹⁰, viz., she has four arms, carries the conch, the disc and the lotus, and is adorned with a garland¹¹¹. She is the main source from which Brahmā, Śiva and other gods derive their own Śaktis and become known as 'śaktimat'¹¹². In the supreme state Viṣṇu and his Śakti are indistinguishable and constitute the supreme Brahma¹¹³, but in creation the latter manifests herself as Māyā Śakti and is vested with the three Gunas¹¹⁴. It is this Mahāmāyā who deludes the people and compels them to undergo rebirths¹¹⁵.

The position, which Śiva and Brahmā occupy in the earlier portions of the extant Kūrma-p., is certainly inferior to that of Viṣṇu.

¹⁰⁷ See Kūr I, 1, 63, 68 and 71.

¹⁰⁸ Kūr I, 1, 51-52; 1, 95; and 2, 3.

¹⁰⁹ Kūr I, 1, 38; and I, 2, 7.

¹¹⁰ Kūr I, 1, 56.

¹¹¹ Kūr I, 1, 39.

¹¹² Kūr I, 1, 37. Cf. also Kūr I, 1, 44-45, wherein Viṣṇu says: "(Indradyumna) resorted to me after knowing that Brahmā, Mahādeva and other gods with their own Śaktis are situated in my Śakti".

¹¹³ Cf. Kūr I, 1, 59.

¹¹⁴ Kūr I, 1, 34-38.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Kūr I, 2, 12.

They are ranked as common gods, so much so that even Indradymna, as Visnu says, was invincible to Śamkara and others¹¹⁶ in his previous birth. Regarding the origin of these two gods Visnu himself says that before creation he was sleeping alone on the serpent-bed; at the end of the night he awoke and thought of creation, and the four-faced Brahma was born of his grace and the three-eyed Rudra of his anger¹¹⁷. Visnu further says that Brahmā created beings at his command¹¹⁸. As Viṣṇu himself is the creator, preserver and destroyer and as Śiva and Brahmā are said to have been born of Visnu, he is sometimes addressed with the names of these two gods. When, in Kūr I, 1, 67 ff., Visnu appears before Indradymna, the latter addresses him with various names including 'mahādeva', 'śiva' and 'parameṣṭhin'. The epithets 'maheśvara', 'parameśvara' and 'īśa' also are applied to mean Visnu, but these are probably to be taken in their literal sense and not as names. For instance, Viṣṇu calls himself 'īśvara' which is synonymous with 'īśa'. Hence we shall be in the wrong if we think that Indradymna 'desired to gain knowledge of the glory of Śiva'. But it seems highly probable that Indradymna wanted to realise Viṣṇu-Brahma¹¹⁹ who remains screened by his Māyā, namely Laksmī. But none can realise Viṣṇu-Brahma until one knows the true self of this Māyā, and thus surpasses her, by worshipping Visnu¹²⁰. Hence Indradymna is found to worship the great god Viṣṇu, and as a result Laksmī, the Māyā of Viṣṇu, reveals her true self, explains her identity and refers him to Viṣṇu—of course, the inferior Viṣṇu of the Trinity—for true knowledge. Indradymna is, however, found afterwards to gain it from Visnu and realise the One, viz., supreme Brahma. It should be noted that if Indradymna desired to gain knowledge of Śiva, he would not have to surpass the Māyā of Viṣṇu, as, we know, Śiva has his own Māyā Śakti.

The theology of these two introductory chapters of the Kūrma-p., in which there is a considerable amount of Śākta element, approaches very closely to that of the Pāñcarātra Samhitās like the Ahirbudhnya¹²¹. The philosophy is in both based on the theistic Yoga.

The very name 'Brāhmī Samhitā' which is given to our extant Kūrma-p. and the numerous references to Jñāna in the first two

¹¹⁶ Kūr I, 1, 43.

¹¹⁷ Kūr I, 2, 3-6.

¹¹⁸ Kūr I, 2, 22.

¹¹⁹ Kūr I, 1, 63. In this verse the word *acyuta*, one of the names of Viṣṇu, occurs.

¹²⁰ Cf. Kūr I, 1, 60 wherein Laksmī says to Indradymna: "I fail to overpower those who worship Puruṣottama, the prop of all beings, with Jñāna- and Karma-yoga". Also cf. Kūr I, 1, 122.

¹²¹ See, Dr. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyasamhitā.

chapters¹²² naturally raise the doubt that the Kūrma-p. in its Viṣṇuīte form must have contained some chapters on the knowledge of Viṣṇu-Brahma. There are, of course, some chapters (viz., II, 1-11) in the extant Kūrma which deal with Jñāna-yoga and constitute the Īśvara-gītā, but these are Pāśupata documents pure and simple. Then the question arises as to the presence of the original chapters on knowledge. In the extant Kūrma-p. itself there are evidences to show that the chapters, which now go by the name 'Īśvara-gītā', once belonged to the Viṣṇuīte Kūrma-purāṇa in some other form, and that these were first spoken by Viṣṇu in the form of the Tortoise but reported perhaps by Vyāsa to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest at the request of Sūta Lomaharsana. At the very outset of the extant Kūrma-p. there are lines which tend to ascribe the authorship of these chapters to Viṣṇu himself. For instance, in Kūr I, 1, 47 it is said that in a previous birth of Indradyumna Viṣṇu promised to impart to him the most secret knowledge so that Indradyumna might merge into himself in the end; and in Kūr I, 1, 64 Lakṣmī, the Māyā of Viṣṇu, reveals herself to Indradyumna and, being asked to tell him how Viṣṇu-Brahma could be realised, says: "Nārāyaṇa himself will impart the knowledge to you". Towards the end of the Kūrma-p. also the knowledge (of Brahma) is said to have been declared by Nārāyaṇa¹²³. These evidences are corroborated by the Īśvara-gītā itself. At the very beginning of this Gītā the sages refer to the topics, viz., creation in the Svāyambhuva Manvantara, the expansion of the universe, and the description of the Manvantaras, as matters already explained by Lomaharsana, and want to hear from him that knowledge which will enable them to experience the supreme Brahma (which is, as we have seen above, no other than Viṣṇu himself in his supreme state). Accordingly Lomaharsana first remembers his teacher Vyāsa and is about to begin when the latter arrives there all on a sudden. Lomaharsana receives him with due honour and requests him to narrate the knowledge of Brahma saying:

*"me hi munayaḥ śāntās tāpasā dharma-tatparāḥ|
 śuśrūṣā jāyate caiṣāṃ vaktum arhasi tattvataḥ||
 jñānaṃ vimuktidaṃ divyaṃ yaṃ me sāksāt tvayoditaṃ|
 munīnāṃ vyāhṛtaṃ pūrvam viṣṇunā kūrmarūpinā||"*

(Kūr II, 1, 12-13).

But Vyāsa replies: "I shall tell you what Śiva himself, being asked by the sages Sanatkumāra and others, spoke out to them in ancient times", making no mention of the Tortoise, and begins with the story in which Śiva is brought in to declare the knowledge of Śiva-

¹²² Kūr I, 1, verses 47, 64, 86, 124-5 and so on.

¹²³ Kūr II, 48, 1.

Brahma to the sages Sanatkumāra, Sanaka and others. Vyāsa's reply to Lomaharsana's request is so irrelevant that the touches of later hands are easily detectable in these chapters.

We have now sufficient reason to hold that the extant Kūrma-p. was originally a Pāñcarātra document¹²⁴. It was afterwards recast so successfully by the Pāśupatas that its Visṇuite character was obscured almost totally. The Pāśupatas not only rewrote some of the original sections, giving up others that went against their own interest, but introduced much new material in the form of myths and legends for the glorification of Śiva and the Pāśupata Vrata and Yoga. They were not satisfied with these changes even. In Kūr I, 25 Visṇu is presented as worshipping the Śiva-lingas and accepting the Pāśupata Vrata and Yoga for obtaining a son through Śiva's favour.

It is necessary to give here a brief account of the Pāśupatas as they are described in the Kūrma-p. in order to understand their true character and to distinguish them from the other sects of Śiva-worshippers. In Kūr I, 14, 22 ff. there is a story about Suśīla, one of the grandsons of king Prthu, wherein an ascetic named Śvetāśvatara is said to have founded the Pāśupata order. The story narrates that Suśīla went to the Himalayas with a view to practising asceticism and worshipped Śiva. All on a sudden there came a Pāśupata ascetic named Śvetāśvatara and gave him instructions on divine knowledge as well as on the vow of his own order. He also addressed his disciples present there and referred to the holiness of the place adding, "Yogins, who have studied the order founded by me, sit absorbed in meditation on the impartible and blissful Mahādeva"¹²⁵. This Śvetāśvatara seems to be identical with the first incarnation of Mahādeva, namely Śveta, according to the Nakuliśa Pāśupatas. This Śveta also is said to have been incarnated on the Himalayas and to have had a large following¹²⁶. Or the legend may connect the Sampradāya with the inchoate Pāśupata-Brahma doctrine of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad. The scriptures of this Pāśupata order are the Atharvaśiras-upaniṣad and the Śata-rudriya section of the Yajurveda¹²⁷. These Pāśupatas hold the Vedas

¹²⁴ A careful analysis of the contents of the present Kūrma shows that the Purāṇa in its Viṣṇuite character approached much, like the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, to the old definition of the Purāṇa of 'five characteristics' and that it lacked the chapters on 'Tirtha-māhātmya'. Cf. Kūr II, 1, 1-2 and II, 43, 1-2, both of which certainly belonged to the earlier Kūrma as they do not mention the contents of those preceding chapters which were interpolated by the Pāśupatas.

¹²⁵ Kūr I, 14, 40.

¹²⁶ Kūr I, 52, 2 ff.

¹²⁷ Kūr I, 20, 69 and I, 14, 30.

in high esteem and look down upon those who decry these holy scriptures. The regular study of the Vedas is one of their main duties¹²⁸. They cite only the Vedic hymns, perform the Agnihotra, use the Vedic Mantras, follow Vedic rules and meditate on the syllable 'Om'¹²⁹. Once Śiva is even made to say : "Oh Brāhmins, my form is the Vedas ; none versed in other Śāstras realises my true self * * *"¹³⁰. The Pāsupata vow consists in besmearing the body with ashes, wearing a piece of rag or remaining naked, putting on the sacred thread, living on roots and fruits, bathing thrice daily, bearing strange signs, holding a torch in the hand, laughing, singing, dancing, making amorous jestures, and so forth. The Pāsupatas also worship Śiva with flowers and meditate on the god as seated in the sun. Those who enter heart and soul into the Pāsupata order are required to do 'samnyāsa' and practise the Pāsupata Yoga which is described in the Īśvara-gītā. The Pāsupatas hate those sects which are guided by the Tantras. These scriptures, they say, were originally promulgated by Śiva with a view to deluding the sages cursed by Gautama¹³¹.

It has been shown above that the extant Kūrma-p. belonged originally to the Pāñcarātras but was later appropriated by the Pāsupatas who should be distinguished from the Āgamic Śaivas and other Śivaite sects. An attempt will now be made to determine the date of composition of the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-p. and also of that of its appropriation by the Pāsupatas, because that will help us to ascertain the periods during which the chapters on Hindu customs were interpolated¹³².

A comparison between these two chapters on the one hand and the Viṣṇu-p., Harivaṃśa and Bhāgavata-p. on the other shows the advance, so far as theology is concerned, made by the Kūrma-p. over these Vaisnavite documents, in none of which there is traceable any Śākta influence. In the Viṣṇu-p. there is, of course, a solitary

¹²⁸ Kūr I, 25, 8 ; I, 14, 48 ; etc.

¹²⁹ Kūr I, 14, 30 ; II, 37, 89 ; 37, 88 ; and I, 33, 7.

¹³⁰ Kūr II, 37, 148.

¹³¹ Kūr I, 16, 90-122.

¹³² I have shown in Indian Culture, Vol. I, pp. 587-614, that the Smṛti-chapters (12-33) of Kūr II, which constitute the Vyāsa-gītā, are nothing but the Uśanas-saṃhitā with a few additional chapters. That in the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-p. nothing intervened between the section on Mokṣa-jñāna (which now appears in a changed form under the name of Īśvara-gītā constituting Kūr II, 1-11) and Kūr II, 43 dealing with Pralaya, is shown by the opening verses of the latter. These verses are :

sūta uvāca—

*etad ākarṇya vijñānaṃ nārāyaṇa-mukheritam|
kūrma-rūpadharaṃ devaṃ papracchur munayah prabhum||*

line in which Laksmī has been called Viṣnu's Śakti¹³³, but it has already been shown that the verses 15 to the end of Viṣ I, 8, including the line referred to above, were interpolated. Now, if the Hari-vamśa was added to the Mahābhārata after the latter had attained its present form, if the date of the Viṣnu-p. is pushed up as early as the fourth century A.D. and if the Bhāgavata is placed somewhere about the sixth century A.D., then the date of the Viṣnute Kūrma-p cannot possibly be earlier than the middle of the sixth century. This upper limit of the date of the Kūrma-p is supported by a Pāñcarātra Samhitā named Jayākhyā, which, though replete with Tantric rites, remarkably lacks the Śakti theory unlike the Ahirbudhnya-samhitā. The Jayākhyā mentions Laksmī and three others, viz., Jayā, Kīrti and Māyā, as Viṣnu's wives and Śaktis¹³⁴, but they play no part at all in creation. Hence the very nature of the theology of the Jayākhyā shows that it is earlier than the Ahirbudhnya. B. Bhattacharya, in his Foreword (pp 26-34) to the Jayākhyā-samhitā, assigns it to about 450 A.D. on the strength of doctrinal and palaeographical viewpoints. If a period of at least 100 years be allowed for the Pāñcarātras' acceptance of the Śakti theory and their writing or re-writing of the Kūrma-p.,—for it is more probable that the Śakti

rsaya ūcuh—

kathato bhavatā dharmo mokṣa-jñānam savistaram|
 lohānām sarga-vistāro vamśo manvantarāni ca||
 udānīm deva-deveṣa pralayaṃ vaktum arhasi|

* * * * *

The word *viñāna* in the first verse certainly points to the so-called *Īśvara-gītā*, at the beginning of which the sages request Sūta to narrate to them that 'viñāna' (knowledge) which he has received from Kṛṇa Dvaipāyana (cf. Kūr II, 1, 4). Moreover, the knowledge that is dealt with in the *Īśvara-gītā* is often called 'viñāna' (Cf. Kūr II, 2, verses 1, 36, 38, 39, 55 and so on). Therefore the fact that in the Viṣnute Kūrma-p. the chapter on Pralaya was immediately preceded by the so-called *Īśvara-gītā* seems to be undeniable. The word *dharmā* in the second verse quoted above points not to the *Vyāsa-gītā* but to the Smṛti-sections (viz., Kūr I, 2-3) which occur at the very beginning and which belonged, as we shall see below, to the Viṣnute Kūrma-p. These original Smṛti-sections are also referred to by the opening verses of the *Īśvara-gītā*.

From all this it appears that the *Vyāsa-gītā* was interpolated by the Pāśupatas most probably at the time of recasting the Viṣnute Kūrma-p., there being nothing to show that it was interpolated afterwards. On the other hand, in the *Vyāsa-gītā* the Āgamic Śaivas are called Pāśupatas but are classed with the Pāśandas (i.e., the non-Vedic sects). Of the Śāktas, only the Vāmas are mentioned. That such a state of things cannot but point to a date earlier than 800 A.D. we shall see below. The Pāśupata tinge of the *Vyāsa-gītā* seems to strengthen the above supposition. It speaks so often of the Pāśupata Vrata and Yoga that it could have been interpolated by none but the Pāśupatas.

¹³³ Vis I, 8, 27a—*aviṣṭambho gadāpāṇiḥ śaktir laksmīr dvijottama.*

theory was first imbibed by the Pāñcarātra Samhitās which are the main literature of the sect and then by other works,—then the date of the Visṇuite Kūrma-p. cannot be earlier than about 550 A.D. Thus we get the upper limit of the date of composition of the extant Kūrma. It may be questioned whether the upper limit can be placed so late. As an answer we may refer to the opinion of Pargiter who says : “The Kūrma account (of the dynasties) is a composite production. Now and again it has a few lines like the Vāyu text, and like the Matsya text, in the Aikṣvāku genealogy, but it follows the Matsya rather, where they differ. It is a late composition and shows Brahmanical features ; thus it omits most of the Vāyu’s tales and introduces Brahmanical fabrications instead. for instance, it makes Gautama (who was far later) a contemporary of Yuvanāśva I, and tells long fables about king Vasumanas and the Haihaya kings Jayadhva and Durjaya”¹³⁵. It should be remembered that the age of a Purāna depends more upon the genuineness of its most vital constituents, viz., account of creation and the dynastic lists, than upon anything else.

Let us now try to determine the period when the Viṣṇuite Kūrma-p. was recast by the Pāśupatas, because that will help us to determine the lower limit. Vidyākara Vājapeyin quotes verses from Kūr I, 22 and II, 37 in his Nityācārapaddhati ; Narasimha Vājapeyin from Kūr I, 1 and II, 18, 23 and 37 in his Nityācārapradīpa ; Vācaspatimiśra from Kūr I, 36 and 37 in his Tīrthacintāmaṇi ; Śūlapāni from Kūr II, 30 and 33 in his Prāyaścittaviveka ; Madanapāla from Kūr II, 18 in his Madana-pārijāta ; Mādhavācārya from Kūr II, 12-16, 18-20, 22-25, 27-29, 33, 36, 39 and 43 in his Bhāṣya on the Parāśara-smṛti ; Hemādri from Kūr I, 1-3, 5 and 36 and II, 12, 13, 15, 18, 20-23, 26 and 44 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi ; Devanabhaṭṭa from Kūr I, 3 and II, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18-20, 24 and 25 in his Smṛti-candrikā ; Aniruddhabhaṭṭa from Kūr II, 23 in his Hāralatā ; and Ballālasena from Kūr II, 18, 26 and 44 in his Dānasāgara (see App.). These quotations show that the Kūrma became a Pāśupata document not later than at least 1100 A.D. Bhāskarācārya, in his Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya, p. 62, quotes three verses (*anādinidhanā* etc.) as declared by the Paurāṇikas. Two of these verses tally with Kūr I, 2, 28 and I, 7, 66. On pp. 64-65 Bhāskarācārya quotes from ‘Smṛti’¹³⁶ three more verses, two of which are traceable in the Kūrma-p. (viz., I, 7, 67 and 68). One of

¹³⁴ Jayākhya-saṃhitā, VI, 77 and 84 ; and XII, 30 and 31.

¹³⁵ Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 81.

¹³⁶ The term ‘Smṛti’ as distinct from ‘Śruti’ is used by Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and others to mean all works except Vedic.

these four verses, which are common to the Bhāskara-bhāṣya and the Kūrma-p., contains the word *maheśvara*. But these do not carry us further, as the word *maheśvara* has been used in its literal sense to mean Visnu in the introductory chapters of the Kūrma-p. and as it is not sure that the verses were quoted by Bhāskara from the Kūrma-p. So we are in need of other evidences. A perusal of the extant Kūrma-p. convinces one of the fact that the object of appropriating the Purāṇa was not only to ventilate the antagonistic attitude which the Pāśupatas bore against their Pāñcarātra rivals but also to make an attempt to popularise their faith which was in a decadent condition¹³⁷. In several places of the Kūrma-p. the sects, which are originally Tantric or which have imbibed Tantric rites and practices, are mentioned with hatred. The non-Vedic Pāśanda Śāstras, viz., Kāpāla¹³⁸, Bhairava, Yāmala, Vāma, Ārhatta, Kāpila, Pāñcarātra, Dāmara, Nākula, Pūrva-pāścīma. Pāśupata, Soma, Lāṅgala, Sāttvata¹³⁹, and many others (*anyāni sahasraśah*), are said to have been declared by Śiva with a view to deluding the sages who were cursed by Gautama¹⁴⁰. The Vedic Pāśupatas hate even to speak with the followers of these Pāśanda Śāstras¹⁴¹ and consider the latter's presence in funeral ceremonies as sinful¹⁴². It is to be noted that in the Kūrma-p. those Pāśupatas who accept Tantric practices and attach more importance to the Tantras are also called Pāśupatas but are characterised by the epithet 'Pāśanda'. The

¹³⁷ Cf. Kūr I, 29, 9 and 25.

¹³⁸ This is the literature of the Kāpāla or Kāpālika sect which is very old. In an inscription dating from the first half of the 7th century A.D. Kapāleśvara and his ascetics are mentioned (cf. Bhandarkar, Vajnavism etc., p. 118). Varāhamihira knew the Kāpālas (cf. *keśasthī-śakala-śivalā kēpālam iva vratam dhatte*—Brhat-samhitā, p. 61. This line has been quoted by Ballālasena in his Adbhutasāgara, p. 237). According to Aparārka the Śivaite sects (the Kāpālikas?) are intended by a Sūtra of Āpastamba which includes the word *kapāla* (see Aparārka's com. on Yāj., pp. 12-13).

¹³⁹ According to Kūr I, 24, 31-33 Sāttvata, son of Amśu of the Yadu family, is said to have worshipped Vāsudeva and promulgated the Sāttvata Śāstra which was heard by the bastards (*kunda-golādbbhīh śrutam*). This Sāttvata Śāstra is most probably a branch of the literature of the Pāñcarātras. 'In the Īśvara-samhitā * * * * the Pāñcarātra literature is divided into two broad classes—Divya and Mumukṣhita, or as Revealed and Traditional. The prominent among the Divya class are considered to be three, namely, the Sāttvata, Pauṣkara and the Jayākhyā called as the three jewels of the Pāñcarātra literature'. (Foreword to the Jayākhyā-samhitā, p. 12).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Kūr I, 12, 256-258; I, 16, 115-117; I, 24, 31-33; I, 29, 25; II, 16, 15-16; II, 21, 32-33; and II, 37, 146-147.

¹⁴¹ Kūr II, 16, 15.

¹⁴² Kūr II, 21, 32-33.

literature of the Pāsanda Pāśupatas is called Pāśupata Śāstra. It is clear that the distinctive names 'Śaiva' for these Pāsanda Pāśupatas and 'Āgama' for their literature did not come into use at the time the Kūrma-p was recast by the Pāśupatas who acknowledged Vedic sanction. If these terms were known at that time, these Vedic Pāśupatas would never have called their 'unworthy' rivals 'Pāśupatas'; nor would they have liked to connect the name of their deity with the literature which they hated so much. Now, the evidences of Aparārka, Bhāskarācārya and others show that the distinctive epithets 'Śaiva' and 'Āgama' to mean the Pāsanda Pāśupatas and their literature respectively had been widely recognised before the 10th century A.D. The Skandapurāṇa mentions the 'Śaivas' and the 'Āgamas' at every step. The Śravana-Belgola inscription of Mallisena (1129 A.D.) mentions the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Bauddhas, Kāpālikas and Kāpilas¹⁴³. The repeated mention of the Śaivas and Pāśupatas together by Aparārka shows that he was familiar with the distinction between these two sects. In his time the literature of the Śaivas was called Śaivāgama or Śaiva Śāstra. He also refers to the philosophical doctrines of the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Pāñcarātras, Sāmkhyas and Pātañjalas¹⁴⁴. On pp. 10-11 and 18 of his com. Aparārka quotes two verses common to the Devīpurāṇa and Yoga-yājñavalkya, and a third from a 'Smṛti'. In these verses the Śaivas and Pāśupatas have been clearly differentiated. These quotations show that the names 'Śaiva' and 'Āgama' began to be used before the time of composition of at least those portions of the Devī-purāṇa, Yoga-yājñavalkya and 'Smṛti' from which the quotations have been made. Aparārka flourished about 1125 A.D. Therefore these distinctive epithets could not have possibly come into vogue later than the beginning of the eleventh century. The evidence of the Varāha-purāṇa also points to the same lower limit. In Var 70 and 71, which are included in the Rudra-gītā, Rudra is brought in to declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu over all other gods including himself and to denounce the non-Vedic (*veda-bāhya*) Śaiva scriptures, namely the Nihśvāsa-samhitā and the Śivasiddhāntas, of the Pāśupatas meaning undoubtedly the Āgamic Śaivas. These non-Vedic scriptures, Rudra adds, were first declared by himself at the request of Viṣṇu in order to delude the people who were crowding the heaven as a result of Viṣṇu-worship. To explain why Rudra declared such 'filthy' scriptures the story of Gautama's curse on the sages, who sought his shelter on account of famine, is introduced. This story runs as follows :

¹⁴³ Ep. Ind., III, 1894-95, p. 192.

¹⁴⁴ Aparārka's com. on Yāj., p. 11.

Gautama practised austerities in the Dandaka forest and received a boon from Brahmā to have plenty of crops. Now, in course of time there broke out a severe famine which lasted for twelve years and compelled the sages, who lived in the forests, to have recourse to Gautama for maintenance. Gautama supported the sages throughout the whole period and requested them to stay with him even when the famine was over. So, for a pretext to leave the place the sages thought out a plan. They created a cow by virtue of their magic power and put her in the hermitage. Gautama understood that it was a magic cow and sprinkled water on her citing 'jahi' (kill). The cow fell down, and the sages also left the hermitage. Gautama then began austerities anew. As a result Rudra was pleased to come and give him a piece of his matted hair which Gautama brought to his hermitage. This hair caused the Ganges to flow through the place where the magic cow lay senseless. The touch of the water revived the cow, and consequently the river was named Godāvarī. At the sight of this strange event the 'seven sages' came and thanked Gautama for causing the Ganges to flow through the Dandaka forest. Gautama then realised the whole plan and cursed the sages to be outside the pale of Veda-dharma. As a result of this curse Rudra was compelled to declare the Nihśvāsa-samhitā.

A comparison between this story and that found in Kūr I, 16, 95 ff. at once suggests that the Rudra-gītā was written later than Kūr I, 16, 95-123. In the Kūrma-p. the story is shorter as well as simpler. It does not refer to Gautama's austerities for plenty of crops or to the origin of the river Godāvarī. The story of Gautama's killing the magic cow is not so clumsy as in the Varāha-p. As there are verses common to the Varāha and the Kūrma-p.¹⁴⁵ it is highly probable that the story in the former had its prototype in that of the latter. As Aparārka quotes verses from Var 70 and 71 in his com., Kūr I, 16, 95-123, which seem to be earlier than Var 70 and 71, cannot be dated later than 1000 A.D. The repeated mention of only the Vāmas¹⁴⁶ among the Śākta sects tends to suggest that the Right-hand school, even if it did originate, was not so prominent at the time of recasting the Visnuite Kūrma-p. As the Kūrma names a good number of sects which were influenced by the Śāktas, it is not probable that it would have left out the name of one of the two most important divisions of the Śāktas themselves, if it were aware of the importance of those two divisions. Now, Aparārka is quite familiar with the Left- and Right-hand Śāktas. He not only mentions

¹⁴⁵ For instance, Var 70, 43 (*veda-mūrtir aham* etc.) = Kūr II, 37, 148.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Kūr I, 12, 258; I, 16, 117; I, 29, 25; II, 16, 15, and II, 37, 147.

these two schools himself in his com.¹⁴⁷ but quotes from the 'Devī-purāṇa' a few verses in one of which these two Śākta schools are mentioned¹⁴⁸ The nature of the quoted verses shows that the two Śākta schools were well-known to the people at the time this part of the Devī-purāṇa was written. So the Right-hand school must have begun not later than the beginning of the eleventh century.

The evidences adduced above show that the Kūrma-p must have been recast not later than 1000 A.D. Let us see if the date can be placed earlier still. Bhāskarācārya in his Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya speaks of the four sects of the Māheśvaras—Pāśupatas, Śaivas, Kāpālikas and Kāthaka-siddhāntins¹⁴⁹. As Bhāskara is placed between 850 and 980 A.D. and 'probably at some point near the beginning of the period' (ranging from 900 to 1350 A.D.)¹⁵⁰, the epithet 'Śaiva' as distinct from 'Pāśupata' must be dated not later than 900 A.D. 'The Tamil poets Tirumūlar who lived somewhere about A.D. 800, Sundarar, who was either a contemporary of Tirumūlar or came a little later, and Mānikka Vāchakar, whose date is not far removed from A.D. 900, all refer to the Āgamas, and both Tirumūlar and Mānikka use much of their phraseology'¹⁵¹. J. C. Chatterji informs us that the teaching of the Āgamas was popular in Kashmir before Vasugupta who flourished about 850 A.D. and supports this statement by references to the Āgamas¹⁵². These evidences show that the 'Āgamas' became current not later than about 800 A.D. Therefore the Kūrma-p, which, as we have seen above, does not seem to be familiar with the 'Āgamas', cannot possibly be later than 800 A.D. References to the worship of Brahmā¹⁵³ in

¹⁴⁷ Com., pp 16 and 17

¹⁴⁸ Aparārka's com, p 16—*yad api devipurāṇe—'vāma-dakṣiṇa-vettā yo mūtravedārtha-paraguh'* etc'

¹⁴⁹ Bhāskara-bhāṣya, p 127 In some places the reading 'kāruka-siddhāntin' for 'kāthaka-siddhāntin' is found. Cf Brahmasūtra with the com of Govindānanda, published by the ASB, p 592

¹⁵⁰ Farquhar, Outline, pp 221-222. Cf also the Bhūmikā to Vindhyeśvari Prasāda's edition of the Brahmasūtra with Bhāskara-bhāṣya.

¹⁵² Farquhar, Outline, p 193

¹⁵³ Kashmir Śaivism, pp. 7-10 and 36a.

¹⁵⁴ In Kūr I, 2, 100b each of the four Āśramas is further divided into three kinds, viz., the Vaiṣṇava, the Brāhma and the Hara-āśrama. (Note that Kūr I, 2, 99 to the end deal with the different sect-marks, of which the Śaiva sect-mark is said to be the most effective Therefore this part of the chapter was certainly added by the Pāśupatas). In Kūr I, 2, 104 it is said that those who take recourse to Brahmā should always bear the sect-mark (*tilaka*) on the forehead; and in Kūr I, 28, 19 Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Sūrya are said to be worshipped in the Kali age Also cf. Kūr II, 18, 90-91 and II, 26, 39 in which there are directions for the worship of Brahmā.

those parts of the Kūrma-p. which did not certainly belong to the Visnuite Kūrma tend to indicate that at the time of the recast the worship of the god did not die out totally. Hence from the consideration of Brahmā-worship also the date of the recast cannot be placed later than 800 A.D. Thus we get the lower limit of the date of recasting.

It has been shown above that the upper limit of the date of composition of the Visnuite Kūrma-p cannot possibly be earlier than 500 A.D., and now we get the lower limit of the date of recasting. If a period of at least fifty years be allowed to intervene between the date of composition of the Visnuite Kūrma-p and that of its recasting, then *the date of composition of the Visnuite Kūrma-p falls between 550 and 650 A.D. and that of its recasting between 700 and 800 A.D.* As in the Rudra-gītā of the Varāha-p. the words *raudra* and *pāśupata* are used to mean the Āgamic Śaivas as well as their literature, the Rudra-gītā should not be placed later than about the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Now, *the Kūrma-p. being earlier than the Rudra-gītā, the date of recasting the former should be placed towards the beginning of the 8th century A.D.*

We shall now pass on to the Smṛti-chapters with which we are really concerned. In the introductory chapters of the Kūrma-p, Jñāna and Karman (meaning the duties of the castes and Āśramas) are mentioned more than once as the two main factors in the attainment of final beatitude. The Indradyumna story being inseparably connected with the description of these two factors, it is highly probable that the Visnuite Kūrma-p contained chapters on Varnāśramadharmā. Kūr I, 2, 36-75 and I, 3 seem to be parts, if not the whole, of these earlier chapters. The topics of Varnāśramadharmā in these chapters have been interwoven with the accounts of creation in such a manner that they cannot be considered as interpolations. Hence it is highly probable that these chapters also come from the same date as that of the Visnuite Kūrma-p.

The whole of Kūr I, 2 is certainly not the work of a single hand. Verses 76-87 seem to have been added later. In Kūr I, 2, 73-75 Yogins are mentioned separately and said to constitute a fifth Āśrama. But in Kūr I, 2, 76-87, wherein the four Āśramas are further subdivided, the existence of a fifth Āśrama is denied. This contradiction cannot be ascribed to one and the same hand.

It has already been said that in the Visnuite Kūrma-p. nothing intervened between the so-called Īśvara-gītā (i.e., Kūr II, 1-11) and Kūr II, 43, and that the Vyāsa-gītā (comprising Kūr II, 12-33) was added by the Pāśupatas at the time of recasting the Visnuite Kūrma-p. Therefore the date of this Vyāsa-gītā is the same as that of the recast.

The whole of the Vyāsa-gītā, however, should not be assigned to the above date. Kūr II, 14, 57b-61a, dealing with Gāyatrī-uddhāra after the manner of the Tantriks, are most probably spurious. They are not found in the Venk ed of the Kūrma or in the corresponding chapter of the Padma-p (Ādi-kh). Kūr II, 31 also, treating of the glories of the holy place named Kapālamocana, seems to be a later interpolation on account of its irrelevant character and the breach it creates in the treatment of the subject-matter of the Vyāsa-gītā.

Here a question may be raised as to whether the Uśanas-samhitā was incorporated into the Kūrma-p. to form the Vyāsa-gītā or it was some chapters of the Vyāsa-gītā which were taken off from their source and given the name 'Uśanas-samhitā'. The Pāsupata character of the Samhitā, of course, appears to indicate that the Kūrma-p. was the source of the Samhitā. But a comparison of readings of the Uśanas-samhitā, the Vyāsa-gītā and the chapters (51-60) of the Padma-p. (Ādi-kh) shows that the Uśanas-samhitā is the original. That the sectarian character of the Samhitā is no argument against its originality is further proved by a verse quoted by Viṣṇūneśvara under Yāj. I, 253-254. The verse is ascribed to Uśanas, and it pretends to report the speech of Bhagavat Śiva himself¹⁵⁴. As this verse and many others, also ascribed to Uśanas, are not traceable in our Uśanas-samhitā, it is highly probable that there existed another Smṛti of Uśanas and that it was influenced by the Śiva-worshippers.

Kūr I, 28-38, treating of Yuga-dharma and glorification of Benares and Prayāga, did not certainly belong to the Kūrma-p. in its Visnuite character. In Kūr I, 1 the contents of the Purāṇa are enumerated as follows :

yatra dharmārtha-kāmānām moksasya ca munīśvarāḥ|
māhātmyam akhilaṁ brahma jñāyate parameśvarah||
sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca|
vaṁśānucartam punyā divyā prasaṅgikī kathā||

It is to be noted that in this enumeration there is no mention of the glorification of holy places. Moreover, at the beginning of Kūr I, 39 the sages, before they ask Sūta to speak on the geography of the world, refer to the topic of creation by Svayambhū as just finished by him¹⁵⁵. This reference points to Kūr I, 27 and the other chapters preceding it, in which the creation has been described. So the spurious

¹⁵⁴ *uśanasā tu| tathā—'pitā pitāmahe yojyah pūrṇe samvatsare*
sutah| mātā mātāmahe tāvad ityāha bhagavān śvah||

¹⁵⁵ *kathito bhuvatā sūta sargah svayambhuvah śubhaḥ|*
idānīm śrotum icchāmas trilokaśyāsya mandalam|| Kūr I, 39, 2.

character of Kūr I, 28-38, which intervene between Kūr I, 27 and I, 39, is obvious.

Of these eleven spurious chapters, the first two (i.e., Kūr I, 28 and 29) seem to have been added by the Pāśupatas. These two chapters narrate the story of the meeting of, and conversation between, the bereaved Arjuna and the sage Vyāsa, who was going to Benares on account of the advent of the vicious Kali age. The former asked the latter what his duty was, and the latter preached the glory of Benares and the worship of Śiva. As a result of this preaching, Arjuna turned a staunch Śivaite. The way in which Śiva and Benares are praised in the story, shows that these two chapters could have been written by none but a Śiva-worshipper. Hence they are to be dated not earlier than 700 A.D. They are probably to be dated between 700 and 800 A.D., the time when the Pāśupatas recast the Viṣṇuīte Kūrma-p. It is, however, sure that as Vyāsa, who narrates the Vārāṇasī-māhātmya in Kūr I, 30-34, is introduced first in I, 28 as proceeding to Benares, Kūr I, 28-29 cannot be later than I, 30-34, which are drawn upon by Vācaspatimiśra and cannot, therefore, be placed later than the 14th century A.D.

In Kūr I, 30-34, the greatness of Benares and the results of living, performing various pious acts, and meeting death there, are described. The different Śiva-lingas (viz., Omkāra, Kṛttivāseśvara, Madhyameśvara etc.) of the place are named and glorified, and stories are narrated for the purpose. A pool (kunda) named Piśācamocana is glorified with a story, according to which a fiend (piśāca) is said to have bathed in it to get rid of his fiendhood. There are also names of various other holy places which Vyāsa visited.

The above contents of Kūr I, 30-34 are sufficient to prove their Śivaite character and origin. That these chapters are to be ascribed to the Pāśupatas is further proved by references to the Pāśupatas and their systems and vows¹⁵⁰. So these chapters should not be dated earlier than 700 A.D. The opening verse

*māhātmyam avimuktasya yathāvat samudiritam |
idanīm ca prayāgasya māhātmyam brūhi suvrata ||*

of Kūr I, 35 seems to presuppose Kūr I, 30-34 (on Benares). Kur I, 35-38 (treating of Prayāga-māhātmya), which are drawn upon by Hemādri in his Canturvarga-cintāmaṇi and by Vācaspatimiśra in his Tirtha-cintāmaṇi and are earlier than Mat 103-112, also drawn upon by him and Caṇḍeśvara, cannot be dated later than the end of the 12th century A.D. (see next para.). So Kūr I, 30-34 cannot possibly be later than the middle of that century, and are probably

¹⁵⁰ Kūr I, 31, 6; 33, 6 ff.; 33, 21-22; and so on.

to be dated between 700 and 800 A.D., there being nothing to prove a later date.

Kūr I, 35-38, which deal with the glorification of Prayāga, are quite unconnected with the chapters preceding or following them, and form a separate unit by themselves. They exhibit very little Śivaite colour unlike the chapters interpolated by the Pāśupatas. So it is highly probable that they were inserted into the Kūrma-p. by a non-Pāśupata who wanted to glorify only the place and the river Ganges but not any particular deity, and that this insertion was made after the appropriation of the Kūrma-p. by the Pāśupatas. Hence these chapters are to be dated later than 750 A.D., if not 800. As verses have been quoted from chap. 36 in the Caturvarga-cintāmani of Hemādri and from chaps. 36 and 37 in the Tirtha-cintāmani of Vācaspatiśiśra¹⁵⁷, their date cannot be placed later than the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. In Kūr II, 38, 3 there is a clear reference to the chapters (I, 35-38) on Prayāga-māhātmya. So, these chapters cannot be later than Kūr II, 38. Now, Kūr II, 34-42, being drawn upon by Vidyākara Vājapeyin, Narasimha Vājapeyin and Mādhavācārya¹⁵⁸, cannot be later than 1250 A.D. Hence Kūr I, 35-38 also must be earlier than 1250 A.D. A comparison between the glorification of Prayāga in Kūr I, 35-38 and Mat 103-112 shows the earlier date of the former. In the Matsya the number of chapters dealing with the Māhātmya is greater; and in those of its chapters which are common to the two Purāṇas there are many additional verses not found in the Kūrma. That these additional chapters and verses of the Matsya are not very late interpolations but are to be dated earlier than 1300 A.D. is shown by the numerous quotations made from them and the common chapters by Vācaspatiśiśra and Candēśvara (see App.). If gaps of at least 50 years each be allowed between Candēśvara and Mat 103-112 and between the latter and Kūr I, 35-38, then the lower limit of the date of the chapters of the Kūrma cannot be placed after the end of the 12th century A.D.

Kūr II, 34-42 name a good number of holy places sacred to Śiva, and stories are often told for their glorification. References to the 'Purāṇas'¹⁵⁹ in these chapters show that their contents are derived from other Purāṇas. It is not known when these chapters were inserted into the Kūrma-p. The Pāśupata character of these chapters, and the expression that 'the glory of the holy places is told in connection with penances'¹⁶⁰ show that these chapters cannot

¹⁵⁷ See App.

¹⁵⁸ See App.

¹⁵⁹ Kūr II, 34, 2; II, 37, 264; II, 38, 6.

¹⁶⁰ Kūr II, 42, 24.

be earlier than the Vyāsa-gītā in which the penances are dealt with. In Kūr II, 38, 3 there is a clear reference to the chapters (viz, I, 35-38) on Prayāga-māhātmya which are to be dated not earlier than 750 A.D., or rather 800. So Kūr II, 34-42 also cannot be assigned to an earlier date. As Vidyākara Vājapeyṁ and Narasimha Vājapeyṁ have drawn upon Kūr II, 37, and as Mādhavācārya has also drawn upon Kūr II, 36 and 39¹⁰¹, the date of Kūr II, 34-42 can by no means be placed later than 1250 A.D.

¹⁰¹ See App.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PURĀNIC CHAPTERS ON HINDU RITES AND CUSTOMS

THE MINOR PURĀNAS

1. THE VĀMANA-PURĀNA ¹

The extant Vāmana deals in chap. 11 with hells, in chap. 12 with Karma-vipāka, in chap. 14 with the duties of the castes and Āśramas, general customs, catables and noneatables, purification and impurity, in chaps. 16 and 80 with Vratas, and in chap 95 with Visnu-worship. It lacks, however, almost all the five themes characteristic of the older Mahāpurāṇas. It is mainly given to the glorification of Kurukṣetra and the adjoining holy places, and in connection with this glorification, legends of gods and demons have been narrated. The contents of this Purāṇa do not agree with the information regarding the 'Vāmana-purāṇa' contained in the Matsya and the Skanda. These two Purāṇas describe the 'Vāmana' as follows :

"That in which the four-faced god (Brahmā) taught the three objects of existence in connection with the greatness of Trivikrama, which treats, also, of the Kūrma-kalpa, and which consists of ten thousand verses, is called the Vāmana-purāṇa"².

¹ The Vaṅga. ed. is the same as the Venk. ed. Both consist of 95 chapters. The variations in readings in these two editions are so small in number that one seems to be a reprint of the other.

The Ms of the Vāmana-purāṇa described by H. P. Shastri in his Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, Vol. V, pp 645 ff. seems to differ much our printed editions.

² *trivikramasya mātmyam adhikṛtya caturmukhaḥ|*
trivargam abhyadhāt tac ca vāmanam parikīrtitam||
purāṇam daśa-sāhasraṁ kūrma-kalpānugaṁ śivam|

* * * * *

In the extant Vāmana-p., however, there is no mention of the Kūrma-kalpa, nor is the Purāṇa said to have been narrated by Brahmā. On the other hand, it is narrated by Pulastya to Nārada, and not even by Lomaharṣana to the sages of the Naimisa forest, as is generally the case with the other Purāṇas. These facts prove that the extant Vāmana is not the same as noticed by the Matsya and the Skanda-p. It can safely be called an Upapurāṇa rather than a Mahāpurāṇa. The Kūrma (I, 1, 19) and the Garuda-p. (I, 227, 19) mention a Vāmana among the Upapurāṇas. It is not, however, possible to say definitely whether the extant Vāmana is the same as the Vāmana-upapurāṇa mentioned in these two Purāṇas.

The Śaiva materials in the present Vāmana as contrasted with the title and contents given in the Matsya and Skanda, show that the Purāṇa in its earlier form was a Vaiṣṇava work, and that it was later recast by the Śiva-worshippers who changed the work with additions and alterations in such a way that very little of its earlier contents was retained. The appearance of Lomaharṣana as an interlocutor in a few chapters from Vām 22, 47 seems to indicate that the Vāmana-p. in its earlier form probably began with the verses in chap. 23, the opening verse being Vām 22, 47 (of course, with some change in the third line). If we connect this supposed opening verse with chap. 23, we have

sarasvatī-drsadvatyor antare kurujāṅgale|
munipravaram āsīnaṃ purāṇaṃ lomaharṣanam|
aprechanta dviṣavarāḥ prabhavam surasattamāḥ||

rṣaya ūcuḥ—

brāhṃ vāmana-māhātmyam utpattiṃ ca viśeṣataḥ|
yathā balir nṛyamito dattaṃ rājyaṃ śatakratoḥ||

lomaharṣaṇa uvāca—

śṛṇvantu munayaḥ prītā vāmanasya mahātmanah|
utpattiṃ ca prabhāvaṃ ca nivāsaṃ kurujāṅgale||

&c &c &c

Such a beginning agrees considerably with the accounts contained in the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-purāṇa referred to above, and in this case Lomaharṣana becomes the narrator of the Purāṇa. All the chapters ascribed to Lomaharṣaṇa in our present Vāmana cannot, however, be taken to have belonged to the Purāṇa in its

Sk reads 'tu' for 'ca' in the second line. The Agni-p. (272, 18), on the other hand, says that the Vāmana-p. was declared in the Dhaumya-kalpa (*vāmanaṃ daśa-sāhasraṃ dhaumya-kalpe hareḥ kathām*).

earlier form. Most of these are undoubtedly of comparatively late origin. Even chap. 23, which seems to contain verses from the earlier Vāmana, have others which were added at the time of recasting, because these latter verses presuppose the preceding chapters which are Śaiva in character. These facts show that inspite of the probable retention of verses from the earlier Vāmana, our present Purāṇa is practically a new work.

As to the date of composition of the present Vāmana there are two divergent opinions, viz., those of Haraprasad Shastri and H. H. Wilson. Of these two scholars, the former says: "The Vāmana-purāṇa, so far as we find it, seems to be very old.

(1) The incarnations of Viṣṇu are not limited to the number of ten. Hayaśīrṣa is prominently mentioned as the third incarnation. No Avatāra after Vāmana is mentioned. The word 'avatāra' is rarely used in connection with Viṣṇu, but the word 'prādurbhāva' in its stead has been used.

(2) There is no sectarian spirit in this work,—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are equally respected.

(3) Some of the islands of the Indian Ocean seem to be mentioned, viz., Indradvīpa, Nāgadvīpa, Katāha, Sīmhala and Varuṇa.

(4) The boundary of India as given in chap. 13, verses 11-12, cannot be later than the 2nd century A.D. The boundaries are: Kirātas to the east, Yavanas to the west, Āndhras to the south and Turks to the north. The geography as given in the Vāmana-purāṇa is older than that of Rājasekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (chap. 17) and that of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira. It can be placed in the 2nd century A.D. with great probability.

(5) One of the reasons to consider this work old, is that Tulasī is never mentioned to be a sacred leaf in the worship of Viṣṇu. Tulasī has now come to universal use, and its origin from Vrudā, the wife of Jālandhara, is given in the Padma-purāṇa³.

None of the above arguments adduced by H. P. Shastri in support of his view seems to be very convincing for the following reasons. Firstly, in the Purāṇa there is no exhaustive and systematic list of incarnations of Viṣṇu. So the disordered, and often stray, mention of the names of incarnations cannot be relied upon to form an idea of the list of incarnations which was known to the author of the present Vāmana or to assign any particular name to any particular position in this list. Secondly, any list of Viṣṇu's incarnations which contains more names than the famous ten, cannot be taken to point unmistakably to an early date, because long lists of incar-

³ Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, pp. clxxxii-clxxxiii.

nations are found to occur in the later works also⁴. Thirdly, in total contradiction to Shastri's statement, the word 'avatīrna' has been used as often as five times in connection with Visnu⁵ and once in connection with Devī⁶, whereas the word 'prādurbhāva' has been used only once⁷. Fourthly, the absence of sectarian spirit is not characteristic of the early works only. The 'Pañcāyatana-pūjā' or Pañcopāsana, i.e., the worship of the five deities—Visnu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and Durgā, which is certainly not of very early origin, testifies to the compromising spirit of the people of later ages. Further, we learn from Vidyākara Vājapeyin (1370-1500 A.D.), one of the noted Smṛti-writers of Orissa, that in his time there were people who equally revered Visnu and Śiva⁸. Fifthly, the geographical portion of the Vāmana-p., in which Indradvīpa, Nāgadvīpa etc. are mentioned and the boundaries of India are given, is undoubtedly based on that of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., for the greater part of this portion of the Vāmana agrees remarkably with the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (chap. 57). Sixthly, in a verse (*bilva-patram śamī-patram* etc) quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (vol. I, p. 411) from the 'Vāmana-p.', there is mention of 'Tulasī' and 'Kṛṣṇa-tulasī'. This verse, which is not found in our edition, has most probably been lost, for in several other cases also our edition contains traces of losses and corruptions. For instance, in Vām 95, 23-43, which enumerate the articles to be given away for the pleasure of Visnu in the different months from Māgha, there is no mention of the month of Śrāvaṇa. That a verse on the gifts in Śrāvaṇa occurred between the verses 38 and 39 (on the gifts in Āṣāḍha and Bhādra) of Vām 95, is evidenced not only by its remarkable absence but also by the verses quoted in Aparārka's com. on Yāj. (pp. 364-365), Ballālasena's Dānasāgara (fol. 237a) and Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi, (I, pp. 885-886).

All the above facts go seriously against the arguments put forth by H. P. Shastri in favour of an early date of the present Vāmana.

Professor Wilson's view that the Vāmana-p. was probably compiled three or four centuries ago⁹ is equally untenable. Had the Purāṇa been so late, the verses quoted by the early commentators and Nibandha-writers from the 'Vāmana-purāṇa' would not have been found in our present text.

⁴ See, Grierson, JRAS, 1909, pp. 607 f; and 1910, pp. 87 f.

⁵ Cf. Vām 29, verses 19, 20 and 26; 30, 14, and 31, 4.

⁶ Ibid., 56, 67.

⁷ Ibid., 92, 65.

⁸ Nityācārapaddhati, p. 155.

⁹ Wilson, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Preface, p. lxxvi.

The above two views being thus found untenable, we shall have to try in our own way to determine the date of the Purāna. The repeated mention of the Rāsis and the Naksatras from Āsvini to Revatī shows that the Purāna cannot possibly be earlier than 200 A.D. The repeated mention of the 'Śarvas' and 'Pāsupatas' as two distinct sections of the Śiva-worshippers¹⁰ points to a still later date of the Purāna. From the Kūrma-p. we understand that these two distinctive epithets were unknown to the beginning of the 8th century A.D.¹¹ Therefore, the Vāmana-p. cannot be earlier than 700 A.D. Vidyākara Vājaṇṇeyin refers to chap. 85 (on 'gaṇḍra-mokṣana') of this Purāna in his Nityācārapaddhati, Gadādhara quotes verses from chap. 94 in his Kālasāra, Gopālabhatta from chaps. 94 and 95 in his Haribhaktivilāsa, Narasiṃha Vājaṇṇeyin from chaps. 14 and 95 in his Nityācārapradīpa, Govindānanda from chaps. 14, 16 and 95 in his Varsakriyā-kaumudī, Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī and Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī, Raghunandana from chaps. 14, 16, 94 and 95 in his Smṛti-tattva, Vācaspatiśiṣra from chaps. 79 and 83 in his Tirtha-cintāmaṇi, Śūlapāṇi from chap. 95 in his Śrāddha-viveka, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 14 and 95 in his Kṛtyā-cāra, Candēśvara from chaps. 14 and 95 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, Mādhavācārya from chap. 14 in his Bhāṣya on the Parāśara-smṛti, Hemādri from chaps. 14, 16, 17, 34, 92 and 95 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Devanabhatta from chaps. 14 and 34 in his Smṛti-candrikā, Ballālasena from chap. 95 in his Dānasāgara, and Aparārka from chap. 95 in his com. on Yāj. (see App.). So, the date of the present Vāmana-p. can never be placed later than 1000 A.D., because the commentators and Nibandha-writers, who draw upon this Purāna, hail from different parts of India. Thus the date of the Purāna falls between 700 and 1000 A.D. Let us see if it is possible to place the date within narrower limits. For this purpose we shall have to determine the date of composition of chap. 14 dealing with Smṛti-matter. This chapter is included in the story of Sukeśin which constitutes Vām. 11-15 and which is put into the Purāna on a chance allusion that serves as a clue to its narration. The outline of this story is as follows :

Sukeśin, the king of the Rākṣasas, worships Śiva and receives an aerial city of voluntary movement. Once he goes to the land of Magadha and meets many sages who, at his request, narrate to him the twelve kinds of Dharma meant for Devas, Daityas, Rākṣasas, Mānavas and others. Going to describe the Dharma of the Mānavas at the request of Sukeśin, the sages tell him of the division of the

¹⁰ Vām. 6, 87; 53, 3; and 67, 10-11.

¹¹ See under Kūrma-p. above.

earth into islands (dvīpa), the areas, locations and inhabitants of these islands, and the hells to be found in the Puskara-dvīpa. The mention of hells rouses curiosity in Sukeśin to hear something of Karma-vipāka, and the sages satisfy him accordingly. Next, the sages name the divisions and sub-divisions of the Jambu-dvīpa, enumerate the rivers, mountains and races of the Kumāra-dvīpa, one of the sub-divisions of the Jambu-dvīpa, and describe the duties of the castes and Āśramas to be found there. Sukeśin then repairs to his city and orders the practice of the Dharma proclaimed by the sages. By virtue of its practice, the Rākṣasas attain heavenly effulgence, and as a result the Sun-god is enraged and causes the city to fall down on the pretext of the crime which the Rākṣasas have committed by forsaking their Svadharma and accepting Para-dharma. At this conduct of the Sun Śiva becomes angry and casts the Sun-god down to the earth. At last, being propitiated, he places the Sun-god and the city in their respective places.

The above outline shows that the story consists of quite different parts put carelessly together. Here we shall not trouble ourselves so much with the question as to whether these parts were added to the main story at the time the latter was inserted into the Purāṇa or at a later age, as with that of the contemporaneity of composition of chaps. 12-14; for in the latter case we shall be in a position to make a nearer approach to the date of composition of chap. 14.

At the beginning of chap. 15 Sukeśin orders his people to practise the thirteen characteristic branches of Dharma which he enumerates as follows :

*ahimsā satyam asteyam śaucam indriya-samyamah|
dānam dayā ca kṣāntiś ca brahmacaryam amāntā||
śubhā satyā ca madhurā vān nityam satkriyā-ratih|
sadācāra-nisevitvam paraloka-pradāyakāh||*¹²

As on the one hand this enumeration is necessary for giving the Rākṣasas an idea of the Dharma they are to practise and is, therefore, vitally connected with the chapter, on the other hand it presupposes the existence of chap. 14, for it is in this chapter that we can trace these characteristics. At the beginning of chap. 14 the sages enumerate the ten limbs of Dharma thus :

*ahimsā satyam asteyam dānam kṣāntir damaḥ śamaḥ|
akārpaṇyam ca śaucam ca tapaś ca rajanīcara||
daśāṅgo rākṣasa-śreṣṭha dharmo 'sau sārva-varnikah||*¹³

Some of the thirteen characteristics in Sukeśin's enumeration are found in that of the sages given here. Not only so, the beginnings

in both the enumerations are similar. For those characteristics mentioned by Sukeśin which are not found in the enumeration of the sages, we can refer to the body of chap. 14. For example, the characteristics 'brahmacarya' and 'amānitā' mentioned by Sukeśin are found in verse 114 of chap. 14 (*sarva-saṅga-parityāgo brahmacaryam amānitā*); for 'sadācāra-nisevitva' we may refer to verses 14-17 wherein the sages glorify the practice of Sadācāra; '*satyā madhurā ca vāk*' has its parallel in verse 39 (*na nisthūram nāgamaśāstrahīnam vākyam vadet*); and so on. The characteristics of Mānava-dharma, mentioned by the sages while describing the twelve kinds of Dharma in chap. 11 (verses 15-28), are as follows :

*svādhyāyo brahmacaryam ca dānam yajanam eva ca |
akārpanyam anāyāso dayāhimsā-ksamādayah ||
jītenḍriyatvaṃ śaucam ca mangalyam bhaktir ucyate |
śaṃkare bhāskare devyām dharmo 'yam mānavah smrtah ||*¹⁴

This enumeration shows that it contributes much less to Sukeśin's enumeration than chap. 14 does. Another point is to be noted here. At the end of chap. 14 the sages refer to the good of practising one's Svadharma and says that the acceptance of Para-dharma incurs the rage of the Sun-god who always tries to do harm to the sinner. This seems to be an indirect warning to Sukeśin, but he does not seem to take it as such, for we see in chap. 15 that the practice of Varṇāśramadharma (or rather Mānava-dharma) instead of Rāksasa-dharma incurs the rage of the Sun-god who causes Sukeśin's city to fall down from the sky. All these taken together tend to show that chap. 14 was added to the main story at the time the latter was fabricated.

In chap. 11, we have seen, the sages describe the twelve kinds of Dharma including Rāksasa-dharma¹⁵. But Sukeśin is not satisfied with his own Rāksasa-dharma, and eagerly wants to hear something about Mānava-dharma—a Dharma which is practised even by sages. Such eagerness on the part of Sukeśin is necessary for the development of the story. To satisfy Sukeśin the sages begin with the geography of the earth to give him some idea about the location of the Kumāra-dvīpa before they proceed to describe the customs and usages to be found there, because, they say, men live in all the seven Dvīpas¹⁶, and the laws and customs differ in the different Dvīpas¹⁷. Towards the end of chap. 11 the sages say that the

¹⁴ Vām 11, 23-24.

¹⁵ *paradārāvamarśitvaṃ pāralyārthe ca lolupa:* |
svādhyāyas tryambake bhaktir dharmo 'yam rakṣasah smrtah || Vām 11, 26.

¹⁶ Vām 11, 30

¹⁷ Vām 11, 43a.

Puskara-dvīpa contains innumerable hells, some of which they mention. This mention of hells prepares the way to the insertion of chap. 12 which deals with Karma-vipāka. It should also be noted here that chaps 12-14 have their prototypes in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p, viz, Vām 12 is the reproduction, with various additions and alterations, of Mārka 14 (verses 44 ff.), Vām 13 of Mārka 57, and Vām 14 of Mārka 28 (verses 11-19 and 23 ff) and 34 (verses 6 ff). The source of these three chapters being common, it is more probable that they were appropriated at the same time and put into the Vāmana-p with a view to bringing it on a par with the other Purāṇas of the time, the story of Sukeśin only serving as a means of introducing them.

From the above discussion it appears that chaps 11-15 of the Vāmana-p. were inserted into it at the same time.

We are now in a position to discuss the date of the addition of Vām 14. In Vām 14, 49b-50a the weekdays Ravi, Mangala, Budha, Śukra and Śani are mentioned in such a way as to convince one of the fact that these were familiar at the time of composition of chap. 14. We know that the earliest epigraphic mention of a weekday is found in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D.¹⁸ From the evidence given by Varāhamihira we understand that the weekdays were well-known in his time. In Vām 13, 12 the Turuskas are mentioned (*āndhrā dakṣmato vīra turuskās tvapī cottare*). The Turuskas, who are quite different from the Tusāras or Tukhāras also mentioned in Vām 13, 41, came to India about the 9th century A.D.¹⁹ So this chapter of the Vāmana-p. is possibly not to be dated earlier than the ninth century A.D. In Vām 12, 48 the Matsya-p. is said to be the chief of all the Purāṇas (*mukhyam purāṇesu yathava mātṣyam*). This is significant. In almost all the lists of the eighteen Purāṇas given in the Mahāpurāṇas the Brahma-p. is regarded as the original one (*ādya*) and assigned the first place. It is only in the Vāyu (chap. 104) that we find the Matsya-p. occupying the first place and the Brahma-p. being placed much lower in the list. As none of the lists, in which the Brahma-p. is placed first, can reasonably be dated earlier than the fourth century A.D. and as Mat 53 (containing such a list) is to be placed between 550 and 650 A.D., it should be admitted that the custom of regarding the Brahma-p. as the first and foremost of all held ground at least down to the end of the sixth century. It might only be after this time that the Matsya-p. could have begun to be assigned the first place at least by a section of people, if not by all. But when did this happen?

¹⁸ Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89.

¹⁹ It is to be noted that the word *turuska* occurs only in those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which are of comparatively late dates.

The predominance of the Matsya-p., as evidenced by Vām 12, 48 and Vā 104 referred to above, is apparently connected with the high position which the Fish incarnation came to occupy in course of time among the incarnations of Viṣṇu. But when did this incarnation come to occupy such an elevated position? Let us compare the lists of incarnations and the accounts thereof to see if we can arrive at any solution. In the Mahābhārata the group of the ten principal Prādurbhāvas or Avatāras of later ages seems to be quite unknown. The verse

*matsyah kūrmo varāhaś ca naraśimho 'tha vāmanah|
rāmo rāmaś ca rāmaś ca buddhah kalkiti te daśa||,*

which is found in the Kumbhakonam edition of the Mahābhārata (XII, 348, 2), is not traceable in the ASB, Bombay and Vanga. editions, although it is nearly the same verse as given in a Pallava inscription from which the verse is quoted below. The verses

*tatah kalīyugasyādaṁ dviṣṭarāja-tarum śritah|
bhīṣayā māgadhenaiṣa dharmarāja-grhe vasaṁ||
kāsūya-vastra-samvīto munḍitah śukladantavān||
śuddhodana-suto buddho mahayisyāmi mānavān||*

also, found in the Mokṣa-dharma of the Kumbhakonam edition, are not met with in the other editions. So the spurious character and the late origin of these verses are obvious. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata (XII, 339), the manifestations (prādurbhāva) of Nārāyaṇa are enumerated as the Hamsa, the Tortoise, the Fish, the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, (Paraśu) Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathī, Sāttvata and Kalki. The lines, which contain this enumeration, seem to have been interpolated later for the following reasons. In Mbh XII, 339, 77 ff. Nārāyaṇa says to Nārada that in future he will take the forms of the Boar, the Man-lion, the twelfth Āditya (i.e., the Dwarf), Rāma of the Bhṛgu family, Rāma Dāśarathī and Sāttvata, and perform various exploits which also he relates to Nārada, adding at the end :

*'kariṣye pralāyam ghoram ātma-jñānābhisaṁvṛtam|
karmāṇyaparimeyāṇi caturmūrtidharo hyaḥam||
kṛtvā lokān gamiṣyāmi svān ahaṁ brahma-satkṛtam||'*

After this is given quite irrelevantly the list of manifestations referred to above, containing the Hamsa, the Tortoise, the Fish and Kalki, which are not mentioned or even hinted at anywhere in the whole chapter. On the other hand, the Boar, the Man-lion and the Dwarf seem to be regarded, in the majority of cases, as the principal incarnations or manifestations of Viṣṇu. We should

Brahma-p, chap 180, which is the reproduction, with some additions, of Mārka 4, 36 ff., describes the four forms of Viṣṇu, the third being said to have become the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Jāmadagnya, Dattātreyā, Rāma Dāśarathī and 'innumerable others', and the 'present' Māthura Br 213, which betrays the influence of the Harivamśa, enumerates the manifestations as the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Dattātreyā, Jāmadagnya, Rāma, Māthura, Kalki Viṣṇuśaśas and many others (*ete cānye ca bahavah*). Regarding Kalki the Brahma-p says :

*'kalki viṣṇuśaśā nāma śambhala-grāma-sambhavaḥ|
sarvaloka-hitārthāya bhūyo devo mahāyaśāh||'*

This verse is a reproduction, with some changes, of Hv I, 41, 164 quoted above. According to the Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā (5, 50) the principal Vibhavas are thirty-nine in number, in which the Tortoise (called Kamatheśvara) occupies the fifteenth, the Boar the sixteenth, the Man-lion the seventeenth, the Fish (*ekasṛṅgatanu*²⁰) the twenty-eighth, the Dwarf (*vāmana-deha*) the twenty-ninth, Kṛṣṇa the thirty-fourth, Paraśurāma the thirty-fifth, Rāma Dhanurdhara the thirty-sixth, and Kalki the thirty-eighth place, there being no mention of the Buddha. Regarding Kalki the Saṃhitā says :

*'yo mardayati kalkyākhyo dasyūms tisya-yugāntajān|
sūryopari-sthiteṇaiva mardanena sa gīyate||'*

In Bhāg I, 3; II, 7; VI, 8 and XI, 4 there are four lists of Avatāras varying in length as well as order. All these lists include the Fish, the Buddha and Kalki. In the third list the Fish occupies the first place, but that is clearly due to chance. The popular idea as to the purposes of the Buddha and Kalki incarnations has not changed in any appreciable degree. Regarding the Buddha incarnation Bhāg I, 3, 24 says :

*'tataḥ kalau saṃpravṛtte saṃmohāya suradvīṣaṃ|
buddho nāmnāñjana-sutaḥ kikaṭeṣu bhaviṣyati||'*;

Bhāg II, 7, 37 has

*'devadvīṣaṃ nigama-vartmani niṣṭhitānāṃ
pūrbhūr mayena vihitābhīr adṛśyaturbhīḥ|
lokān ghnatām mati-vimoham atipralobhaṃ
veṣam vidhāya bahu bhāṣyata aupadharmam||'*;

²⁰ In Ag 2, 15 the Fish is called 'ekasṛṅgadhara'.

and Bhāg VI, 8, 19 has

‘ * * * * buddhas tu pāsandagana-pramādāt . . . prapātu.’

With respect to the Kalki incarnation Bhāg I, 3, 25 says :

‘ athāsan yuga-samdhya-yām dasyu-prāyesu rājasu|
janitā viṣṇuśaso nāmnā kalkir jagatpatih||’;

Bhāg II, 7, 38 has

‘ yarhy ālayesu api satām na kathā hareh syuh
pāsandino dvija-jaṇā vṛsalā nrdevāḥ|
svāhā svadhā vasad iti sma giro na yatra
śāstā bhaviṣyati kaler bhagavān yugānte||’;

and Bhāg VI, 8, 19 has

‘ kalkih kaleh kāla-malāt prapātu|’

In Mat 259 and 260 Rāma, the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, the Fish and the Tortoise are mentioned in connection with the construction of images. These chapters being influenced by and based on Brhat-samhitā, chap. 58 (*pratimā-lakṣaṇam nāma*), their date cannot be earlier than the sixth century A.D. Mat 54 describes the Naksatrapurusa-vrata in which the different limbs of Viṣṇu are worshipped with the mention of the names of his different incarnations including the famous ten. The same Vrata is also given in Brhat-samhitā, chap. 105. A comparison between these two chapters shows that the chapter in the Matsya has not only that in the Brhat-samhitā as its prototype but makes a distinct advance over the former by introducing the names of the ten Avatāras. The verse containing the name of the Buddha in Mat 47 must be dated much later, for the Vāyu, from which the Matsya has borrowed the chapter, does not contain it. The Pādma Tantra, which is dated earlier than 800 A.D. by Schrader,²¹ ‘ says (I, 2, 31) that of the ten Avatāras the Fish, the Tortoise and the Boar have sprung from Vāsudeva; the Man-lion, Dwarf, Śrīrāma and Paraśurāma from Samkarsana; Balarāma from Pradyumna; and Kṛṣṇa and Kalki from Anuruddha; and it indicates that the other Avatāras (viz, Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Buddha, etc.) are to be distributed in a similar way.’²² The Viṣvakṣena-saṃhitā includes the Buddha and Paraśurāma among the

²¹ Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyasamhitā, p. 20

²² Ibid, p. 48.

secondary Avatāras²³. A Pallava inscription, dated about the latter half of the seventh century A.D., contains the verse

matsyah kūrmo varāhaś ca nārasimho 'tha vāmanah|
*rāmo rāmaś ca rāmaś ca buddhah kalkī ca te daśa||*²⁴

Nammalvar, alias Saint Śaṭagopa, who belonged to the ninth century A.D., gives a hymn which contains 'the conception of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu come to delude the Asuras'²⁵. According to Gd I, 202 (*viṣṇudharmākhya-vidyā-varṇanam nāma*) the different Mūrtis of Viṣṇu are the Matsya, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Naraśimha, Rāma, Varāha, Nārāyaṇa, Kapila, Datta, Hayagrīva, Makara-dhvaja, Nārada, Kūrma, Dhanvantari, Śeṣa, Yajña, Vyāsa, Buddha and Kalki, the last two being invoked for protection from the Pāśandas and the sins (of the Kali age) respectively (*buddhah pāśanda-saṃghātāt kalkir aratu kalmaṣāt*). The nature of the contents of the chapter tends to betray its comparatively late origin²⁶.

The lists given above are perhaps sufficient to show that popular views regarding the names and numbers of the principal incarnations varied hopelessly before 800 A.D.; that though the group of the ten principal Avatāras with the Fish at the head originated much early, the names of the Avatāras constituting the group often varied; and that the group does not seem to have attained the position of general acceptance before 800 A.D. It also appears from the lists that the mission of the Buddha incarnation was to that time supposed to be the delusion of the Asuras, i.e., Jains and Buddhists, and that of Kalki the extermination of the Pāśandins and Dasyus, the removal of 'the dirt of the Kali age', or the good of the people.

Let us now examine some other lists of incarnations and the accounts thereof. The Agni-p. describes, in chaps. 2-16²⁷, the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Naraśimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki. Though the Agni-p. believes in the innumerable incarnations of Viṣṇu (*avatārā asaṃkhyātā atitānāgatādayah*), it lays special stress on the group of ten²⁸. About the Buddha incarnation it says that being defeated by the Daityas the gods sought the protection of Viṣṇu who, consequently, was born as Māyāmoha to Śuddhodana and

²³ Ibid., pp. 47-48.

²⁴ H. Krishna Shastri, The Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. 26, p. 5.

²⁵ ABORI, Vol. XIV, 1932-33, pp. 200-201.

²⁶ See under Garuḍa-purāṇa below.

²⁷ These chapters are to be assigned to the ninth century A.D. See under Agni-purāṇa.

²⁸ Cf. Ag 16, 12b-13a.

deluded the Daityas with the result that the latter gave up the Veda-dharma and became Bauddhas. Viṣṇu, in the form of Māyāmoha, next became Āhata and turned the remaining Daityas into Ārhatas. Thus the Pāsandins came into existence. The Agni-p further adds that at the end of the Kali age there will be an intermixture of castes, the Dasyus will prevail, and the Mlecchas will become kings and eat up the people²⁹. Then Kalki, son of Viṣṇu-yaśas, will have Yājñavalkya as his priest, exterminate the Mlecchas and re-establish the distinctions of the four castes. The mention of the Bauddhas and the Ārhatas as Pāsandins and, then, of the Mlecchas as kings, shows that by the word 'mleccha' the Agni means the outlandish dynasties which established kingdoms in India after the death of the Kushan king Vāsudeva. It may also be that by this word the Purāṇa means the Muhammadans who came to India about the 9th century A.D. In Ag 49 the characteristics of the images of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu have been described. This chapter exhibits a distinct advance over Mat 259 and 260 referred to above in that it adds four incarnations more, viz, Paraśurāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki, to those of the Matsya-p. to make up ten and arranges them in order. Moreover, it replaces Kṛṣṇa by Balarāma. Hence the date of composition of this chapter must be much later than that of Mat 259 and 260. It is highly probable that the date should be placed later than the ninth century A.D.³⁰ It is to be noted that here also Kalki is described as 'the exterminator of the Mlecchas' (mlecchotsādakara). The Kashmirian polymath Ksemendra, who flourished in the eleventh century A.D., wrote in 1066 A.D. his Daśāvatāra-carita in which Kṛṣṇa is said to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu³¹ and the condition of the earth on the eve of the Kalki incarnation is described as follows :

*darat-turuskāb(ṣ)agāna-śaka-nandanaiḥ
samkocam esyati mahā kuṣṭhair iva visarpiḥhīh|
mlecchācchādita-sarvāśā kṛpanākṛandanādini
medaḥ-kardaminī kledam rakṭair yāsyati medinī||*

It is clear that the term 'Mleccha' is used by Ksemendra to mean especially the Muhammadans who disturbed the peace of India by attacks and massacres. In Var 39-48 ten kinds of Dvādaśī-vrata, named after the ten Avatāras, are described. The very connection of the Vratas with the 'ten incarnations' of Viṣṇu proves their late origin which is further confirmed by the direction '*rūpakāmo yajed buddhaṃ śatrughātāya kalkinam*'³² pointing to a time when the

²⁹ *mānusān bhakṣayiṣyanti mlecchāḥ pāṛthiva-rūpiṇaḥ|*

³⁰ See also under Agni-purāṇa below

³¹ Daśāvatāra-carita, I, 2; I, 10; and VIII, 1 ff.

³² Var 48, 22a.

idea of the people towards the delusive nature of the Buddha incarnation underwent such a change that the Buddha was looked upon as a god conferring beauty. The Padma-p (Uttara-kh) describes the first eight of the ten Avatāras in chaps. 258 ff. These chapters bear stamps of very late age. For instance, the Tulasī plant is said to be the wife of Hari Jayadeva, in his Gītagovinda, mentions the ten Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa and looks upon Kalki as the exterminator of the Mlecchas.

From what has been said above it appears that the group of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu with the Fish at the head began to attain the state of general acceptance not very much earlier than 800 A.D. And when this group attained such a position, the Fish incarnation also was consolidated in its own place in the group. The Fish thus occupying the first place, at least some people must have looked upon the Purāṇa declared by the Fish (i.e. the Matsya-p) with the same importance, so much so that in Vām 12 it is called the chief of all Purāṇas. Hence it is highly probable that the Matsya-p. attained such importance not earlier than about the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

Chap 104 of the Vāyu-p. appears to confirm the above view by including the Bhāgavata and the Ādika-purāṇa in the list of Purāṇas and by naming six systems of philosophy of which the Śākta system is one³³. The mention of the Bhāgavata-p. shows that the date of composition of the section containing the list, if not of the whole chapter, cannot be earlier than that of the Bhāgavata. The inclusion of the Ādika-p. in the list tends to point to a still later date. That the title 'Ādika' is not used here to mean the Brahma-p., which also is sometimes termed 'Ādi-purāṇa' from the preference it enjoys over other Purāṇas, is clear from the fact that the Brahma-p. also is mentioned in the list. The Ādika-p. mentioned by the Vāyu must, therefore, be identical with the Ādi-upapurāṇa, which alone, besides the Brahma-p., goes by the name 'Ādi-purāṇa'. Alberūnī (about 1030 A.D.) gives two lists of Purāṇas, one of which was dictated to him and the other he copied from the Viṣṇu-p.³⁴. The list that was dictated to him consists partly of Mahāpurāṇas and partly of Upapurāṇas such as the Ādi, Narasiṃha, Nanda (Nandi?), Āditya etc., the first place

³³ *brāhmaṇaṃ śaivam vaiṣṇavam ca sauram śāktaṃ tathārhatam|
śaḍ darśanāni cōktāni svabhāva-niyatāni ca||* Vā 104, 16.

Mādhavācārya, in his Bhāṣya on the Parāśara-smṛti (I, i, 305), quotes from the Purāṇa-sāra a verse which names the 'six systems of philosophy of the Bhakti-mārga' as Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Saura, Vamāyaka and Skānda.

³⁴ Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, pp. 130-131. —

being assigned to the Ādi-purāṇa, and the Matsya and Brahma occupying the second and seventeenth places respectively. This list shows that by Alberūnī's time the Upapurāṇa, called Ādi-purāṇa, not only attained the position of being included in the list of the 'eighteen Purāṇas' but became prominent enough to be named first of all. Not only so, the other Upapurāṇas also were regarded so highly that the people did not hesitate to mingle the names of the Upapurāṇas with those of the Mahāpurāṇas to make up the traditional 'eighteen'. But in Vā 104 the Upapurāṇas do not seem to have attained so much prominence as in Alberūnī's days. Of the numerous Upapurāṇas the Ādika only is included in the list but is not assigned the first place. This position of the Ādika-p seems to point to a time earlier than that of Alberūnī. The mention of Śākta philosophy also tends to assign a similar date to Vā 104. From the fact that the Śākta systems began to appear from a time not very much earlier than about the sixth century A.D.³⁵, and from the dates of the Śākta Upanisads which began to appear not much earlier than the tenth century A.D.³⁶, it seems that Śākta philosophy attained recognition not earlier than the ninth century A.D. From all this it may be assumed that Vā 104, which places the Matsya-p. first in the list, was written not earlier than the ninth century and not later than the time of Alberūnī. To show that the first place assigned to the Matsya-p. in Vā 104 is not due to mere chance, the Devībhāgavata (I, 3) may be cited as an example. This latter Purāṇa also allows the same preference to the Matsya.

From all the arguments adduced above it may be concluded that Vām 14 was not inserted earlier than the ninth century A.D. As this chapter is drawn upon by Govindānanda in his Varsakriyā-kaumudī and Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī, by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva, by Narasimha Vājaṇeyin in his Nityācārapradīpa, by Śrīdatta Upādhyāya in his Kṛtyācāra, by Candēśvara in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, by Mādhavācārya in his Bhāṣya on the Parāśara-smṛti, by Hemādri in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and by Devaṇabhaṭṭa in his Smṛti-candrikā (see App.), its date cannot be placed later than the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Hence the date falls either in the ninth or in the tenth century A.D., and most probably in the former.

The story of Sukeśin, of which chap. 14 forms a vital part, is so closely connected with the other parts of the Purāṇa that the above date can be taken to be that of composition of almost the entire Purāṇa by the Śiva-worshippers.

³⁵ Cf. Farquhar, Outline, pp. 167 ff.

³⁶ Ibid, pp. 266-267.

The present *Vāmana*, though a comparatively late work, does not seem to have come down to us quite unadulterated. The repetition of the story of the origin of *Linga*-worship in two forms in chaps. 6 and 43 and of the story of the birth and exploits of the Dwarf in chaps. 27-31 and 76-95 shows that some of these chapters must be later additions. But it is very difficult to disconnect them. Whatever of these chapters may have been interpolated, it is sure that the interpolations were made earlier than 1050 A.D., as the quotations from these and other allied chapters show.

The *Nāradiya-p.*, which gives the contents of the *Vāmana-p.* in chap. 105 of its *Pūrva-bhāga*, speaks of the two parts of the *Purāṇa*. The contents of the first part tally fully with those of our printed text. The second part, which is called *Brhad-vāmana*, is said to have consisted of four *Samhitās*,—*Māheśvarī*, *Bhāgavatī*, *Saurī* and *Gāṇeśvarī*,—each containing 1000 *Ślokas*. The first of these *Samhitās* was given to Kṛṣṇa and his worshippers, the second to Devī and her incarnations, the third to the Sun-god, and the fourth to Ganeśa. The *Nāradiya-p.* further gives a tradition of succession of the *Vāmana-p.* According to this tradition the *Purāṇa* was first imparted by Pulastya to Nārada, who then narrated it to Vyāsa. Lomaharsana received it from Vyāsa and narrated it to the sages of the Naimisa forest.

2 THE LINGA-PURĀṆA

The present *Linga*, which consists of two parts—*Pūrvārdha* and *Uttarārdha*, seems to be a manual of the *Linga*-worshippers, inculcating the worship of the phallic emblem of Śiva together with five other forms of the god—viz., *Īśāna*, *Aghora*, *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa* and *Jāta*. The worship of the phallic symbol is extolled even over that of the image of Śiva himself. The violently sectarian character of this *Purāṇa* is shown by its declaration that a person, who, after hearing the dispraise of Śiva, at once gives up his own life after murdering the censurer, proceeds to the region of Śiva, and that one, who tears out the tongue of a habituated censurer of the god, delivers twentyone generations and attains the same region³⁷. In this *Purāṇa* a Śiva-worshipper is said to be superior to thousands of the worshippers of Viṣṇu and other gods. It further presents Viṣṇu as composing a hymn in honour of Śiva, and Nandin, the active principle of Śiva, as defeating the former god in his *Man-lion* incarnation.

³⁷ *Lg I*, 107, 41-42.

This Purāṇa contains a good number of chapters on Smṛti-topics, mainly religious, viz.,

I, 25-28	..	on Linga-worship,
I, 77-78		on the consecration of a Linga,
I, 81		on the Pāsupata-vrata or Śīvalinga-vrata,
I, 83-84	.	on the Śaiva Vratas to be observed in the different months,
I, 85, 1-82	.	on the method of muttering the five-syllabled Mantra,
I, 85, 83-126	.	on Dīkṣā and Puraścārana,
I, 85, 127 to the end;	}	on Sadācāra,
I, 89		
I, 90		
II, 23-26	.	on the worship of Śiva,
II, 28-44	..	on the big donations (mahādāna),
II, 45		on the funeral ceremony of a living being (jīvacchrāddha),
II, 46-49	..	on the consecration of a Linga,
and II, 51	}	on mystic rites and practices, viz.,
to the end		
		Vajravāhanikā-vidyā, Mrtyuñjaya-vidhi, etc.

According to the information given by the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-purāṇa, the Linga-p. was declared by Maheśvara in relation to the Āgneya Kalpa, and it consisted of 11000 Śloka²⁸. But in the present Linga, whose length is given as 11000 Śloka and which opens, unlike the earlier Purāṇas, with a list of the names of the holy places visited by Nārada, it is expressly said that the Purāṇa was declared by Brahmā in connection with the Īśāna-kalpa²⁹. The interlocution between Śiva and his wife is first referred to by Lomaharṣana as late as in Lg I, 25 in connection with the method of Linga-worship.

The above disagreement shows that the present Linga-p. is not the earlier one which was noticed by the Matsya, Skanda and Agni. Its apocryphal character is further evidenced by the quotations made from the 'Linga-purāṇa' or 'Linga' by many of the commentators and Nibandha-writers. Of these authors, Jīmūta-vāhana quotes 18 lines, excepting the repeated ones, in his Kālaviveka; Vijñāneśvara quotes 2 lines in his Mitāksarā; Aparārka quotes 12 lines in his com.; Madanapāla quotes 10 lines in his Madanapārijāta; Śūlapāṇi quotes 8 lines in his Durgotsava-viveka;

²⁸ Mat 53, 36-37 and Sk VII, i, 2, 54-56. Ag 272, 14b-15a.

²⁹ Lg I, 2, 1.

Vācaspatimiśra quotes about 185 lines in his *Tirtha-cintāmani*; Raghunandana quotes about 74 lines, excepting the repeated ones, in his *Smṛti-tattva*, Govindānanda quotes 2 lines in his *Sūddhikriyā-kaumudī* and 50 lines, excepting the repeated ones, in his *Varsakriyā-kaumudī*, and Gadādhara quotes 51 lines in his *Kālasāra*. But not a single of these numerous quoted lines is found in the present *Linga-p*. This remarkable fact undoubtedly goes against the authenticity of the present *Linga*, which is most probably the result of a destructive recast to which the earlier *Purāna* was subjected. How the contents of the earlier *Purāna* were replaced by others in the present one, is shown best by a comparison between chap. 92 on the glorification of Benares in *Linga I* and the numerous verses on the same topic quoted in Vācaspatimiśra's *Tirtha-cintāmani*. The earlier *Linga*, however, did not die out immediately after the recast but continued to be drawn upon as an authoritative work by a section of *Nibandha*-writers including those of even the 16th century A.D., if not later.

The present *Linga*, though an apocryphal one, is certainly not a very late work. Rūpa Gosvāmin, one of the disciples of Caitanya of Navadvīpa, quotes a verse from *Linga II*, 3 in his *Haribhakti-rasāmṛtasindhu*; Gopālabhatta quotes a good number of verses from *Linga II*, 2, 4 and 7 in his *Haribhaktivilāsa*; Narasimha Vajapeyayin from *Linga I*, 92 in his *Nityācārapradīpa*; Vidyākara Vajapeyayin from *Linga I*, 85 and 94 in his *Nityācārapaddhati*; Mādhavācārya from *Linga I*, 4, 26, 39, 40 and 89 in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Parāśara-smṛti*; Hemādri from *Linga I*, 65 and 81-84 and *II*, 28-30, 32-40 and 42-45 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmani*; Ballālasena from *Linga I*, 77 and *II*, 28 in his *Dānasāgara* and from *Linga I*, 91 and 100 in his *Adbhutasāgara*, Devanabhatta from *Linga I*, 26 and 77 in his *Smṛti-candrikā*; and Vandyaghatīya Sarvānanda from *Linga I*, 4 in his *Ṭikāsarvasva* (see App.). Moreover, Ballālasena refers to the chapters on 'big donations' occurring in *Linga II*¹⁰. These evidences

¹⁰ Cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b—*brhad api lingapurāṇam matsyapurāṇoditair mahādānaih*.

Though Ballālasena's knowledge of the present *Linga* admits of little doubt, the verses quoted from it in the *Dānasāgara* may have been interpolated; because on fol. 2a, where Ballāla names only those Epics, *Purānas* and *Upapurānas* which he used in writing the *Nibandha*, there is no mention of the *Linga-purāna*. The corrupt verse

brhad api lingapurāṇam matsyapurāṇoditair mahādānaih
avadhārya labdhasārādānanibandhetaranibandham||

given on fol. 3b in connection with the names of the rejected *Purānas* or parts thereof, also tends to show that Ballālasena did not use the *Linga* in his *Dānasāgara*. (The word 'api' after 'brhat' seems to suggest that 'avadhārya' should be read in place of 'avadhārya').

adduced by the Nibandha-writers hailing from different parts of India, prove that *the present Linga, with its two parts, was written not later than 1000 A.D.* Verses or even entire chapters might have been interpolated later than this time, but the interrelation between the chapters drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers and most of the remaining ones, shows that the great majority of the chapters are to be dated before 1000 A.D. The mention of the names of the planets beginning with the sun⁴¹, of the signs of the zodiac⁴², of the Naksatras beginning with Āśvinī⁴³, of the 'Āgama' literature of the Śaivas⁴⁴, and of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu including Kṛṣṇa, the Buddha and Kalki⁴⁵, testifies to the fact that *the Purāṇa was not written before 600 A.D.* The genealogical portion also betrays a comparatively late origin of the Purāṇa. About this portion Pargiter says: "The Linga account is based on the 'Vāyu version', but adapts to frame its own text. Often it has the same verses, but often also it modifies, curtails, and freely omits, especially incidental and descriptive matter; and it adds occasionally. It also interpolates religious teaching, as where it introduces a long eulogy of Rudra. It however shows traces of the influence of the Matsya version, thus it has the same verses sometimes and ends the Aikṣvāku genealogy with six kings instead of the Vāyu's twentyone just as the Matsya does⁴⁶".

The boundary of India as given in Lg I, 52, 29 (*pūrve kirātās tasyānte paścime yavanāḥ smrtāḥ* | etc.) should not be taken to give the Purāṇa a very early date, because this verse, which is found to occur in the geographical portions of many of the other Purāṇas also, viz, Vāyu, Brahmānda, Kūrma, Mārkaṇḍeya etc, is certainly a traditional one

All of the chapters of the Linga-p., which are to be dated earlier than 1000 A.D., do not, however, seem to have been composed at the same time. An examination of the chapters on the method of Linga-worship shows that they are to be divided into two groups—one, including Lg I, 25-28, in which Vedic elements prevail and the Vedic Mantras are used frequently, and the other showing the

Besides the present apocryphal Linga, Ballālasena seems to have known another spurious Liṅga-p consisting of 6,000 Ślokas and dealing with Dikṣā, Pratiṣṭhā, etc. See footnote 131 under Agni-purāṇa.

That more Liṅga-purāṇas than one came into existence at a fairly early date is suggested by our present Liṅga itself when it says :

liṅgam ekādaśa-vidham prabhinnam dvāpare yuge

(Lg I, 39, 64a. This line occurs in Skanda VII, 1, 2, 101 also. Skanda V, iii, 1, 33 says : *'liṅgam ekādaśam jñeyam tathāikādaśa samkhyayā'*).

⁴¹ Lg I, 82, 73-74.

⁴² Lg I, 82, 77 ff.

⁴³ Lg II, 48, 31-32.

⁴⁴ Lg I, 82, 75-76.

⁴⁵ Lg I, 85, 35 and II, 55, 25.

⁴⁶ Pargiter, AIHT, p. 81

influence of the Tantras. The chapters of the former group may have been retained from the earlier form of the Purāṇa, and those of the latter seem to have dated from the time of *the recast, which, on account of the Tantric traces, does not seem to have been made earlier than 800 A.D.*

The present Linga-p. has a few chapters borrowed from other Purāṇas. For example, Lg I, 89 (on Sadācāra) gives the verses of Vā 16 with further additions, so much so that the former has 122 verses as against the latter's 24; Lg I, 90 (on Yati- prāyaścitta) is almost totally the same as Vā 18; Lg I, 91 (on Arista and Omkāra-laksana) is the same as Vā 19 and 20; Lg I, 40 consists of verses mainly taken from Kūr I, 29 and Mat 144, 48 ff, and so on. The Linga-p. has improved upon the borrowed sections with additions and alterations in such a way that these additions and alterations at once betray its indebtedness.

In this connection we should like to enumerate the Smṛti-topics dealt with in the lost Linga-p. The basis of this enumeration is the untraceable quotations made by the Nibandha-writers. These quotations relate to general customs (ācāra), funeral sacrifices, bath during eclipses, vows (viz., Bhrātr-dvīṭyā, Aśokāstamī, Ekādaśī, Śiva-rātri, Damanaka-caturdaśī and Naraśimha-caturdaśī), and worship of Śiva, Agni, Durgā (in the autumn), Laksmī, Śālagrāma and the spiritual preceptor (guru). The quoted verses on general customs and funeral sacrifices are so small in number that it seems that in the lost Linga-p. the chapters on these topics were negligible in comparison with those on the different religious rites.

3. THE VARĀHA-PURĀṆA ⁴⁷

The extant Varāha is a comparatively late work. It is rather a manual of prayers and rules mainly for the Viṣṇu-worshippers. That it is not the Varāha-p. which the Matsya, the Skanda and the Agni-purāṇa noticed, can be little doubted. These three Purāṇas describe the Varāha-p. as follows :

*mahāvarāhasya punar mātmyam adhikṛtya ca|
viṣṇunūbhikṛtāṃ kṣaunṇyai tad vārāham ihocyate||
mānavasya prasaṅgena kalpasya muni-sattamāḥ|
caturvīṃśat sahasrāṇi tat purāṇam ihocyate||⁴⁸*

⁴⁷ The Vaṅga. ed. is the same as that in the Bibl. Ind. Ser. There are, of course, slight variations in readings in the two editions.

⁴⁸ Mat 53, 38-39 and Sk VII, i, 2, 57-58. Sk reads 'dhanyasya' for 'kalpasya' in the third line.

and

caturdaśa-sahasrāṇi vārāhaṃ viṣṇuneritam|
*bhūmau varāha-caritam mānavasya pravṛttitah||*⁴⁹

According to these descriptions the older Varāha-p. was declared by Viṣṇu and was connected with the Mānava Kalpa, but in the extant Purāṇa of the same title the Boar himself is the narrator and there is no mention of the Mānava Kalpa. Moreover, of the five characteristics of the Purāṇa, there is very little in it. Its account of creation bears the unmistakable stamp of comparatively late age. The Manvantaras and the genealogies of kings and sages have been neglected. The beginning also does not resemble those of the other Purāṇas, there being no mention either of the sacrifice in the Naimisa forest or of the sages who request Sūta to narrate the Purāṇas. On the other hand, Sūta reports the interlocution between the Boar and the Earth abruptly and without any introduction.

The extant Varāha-p. consists of four distinct sections: (1) chaps. 1 to 112, (2) chaps. 113 to 192, (3) chaps. 193 to 212, and (4) chaps. 213 to the end⁵⁰. These four sections, which differ from one another in general character and in respect of interlocutors, are most probably the works of different hands hailing from different ages. In the first section (comprising chaps. 1-112), Sūta is the reporter, and the interlocutors are the Boar and the Earth. This section is primarily the work of the Pāñcarātras. Here the highest deity is Nārāyaṇa, and this name of the god is used much more frequently than the names 'Viṣṇu' and 'Hari!'. The names 'Vāsudeva' and 'Kṛṣṇa' are of very rare occurrence. The sectarian Mantra is 'om namo nārāyaṇāya'⁵¹, and there is not even a single mention of the Mantra 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'. In this section importance is given to everything Pāñcarātra. The gifts made to the Pāñcarātra Ācāryas are said to be productive of immense good (Var 50, 16). The study of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and the observance of the rules of the Pāñcarātras are recommended, next to the Vedas, as the means of realising Viṣṇu-Brahma. Viṣṇu is brought in to say:

"pauruṣaṃ sūktam āsthāya ye yajanti divijāsu mām|
te mām prāpsyanti satataṃ saṃhitādhyayanena ca||

⁴⁹ Ag 272, 16.

⁵⁰ Haraprasad Shastri wrongly divides the contents of the Bibl. Ind. ed. of the Varāha-p. into 3 sections: (1) from chap. 1 to 112, (2) from 113 to 192, and (3) from 193 to the end. See, Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, pp. clxv-clxvi.

⁵¹ Var 37, 21 and 31; 49, 31.

alābhe veda-śāstrānām pañcarātroditena hi|
*mārgena mām yajante ye te mām prāpsyanti mānavāh||*⁵²

Though in this section Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are said to be not different from one another, it is Nārāyaṇa (also called Viṣṇu) who is the highest god, and all other gods, including Brahmā and Śiva, are said to be born of him⁵³. Rudra himself acknowledges the superiority of Nārāyaṇa and describes the latter as ‘*sakala-vidyā-vabodhita-paramātma-svarūpī vṛgata-kalmasah paramānūr acm-tyātmā nārāyaṇah sakala-lokālōka-vyāpī* . . .’⁵⁴. The Boar also describes Nārāyaṇa as ‘śuddha’, ‘sarva-gata’, ‘nitya’, ‘vyoma-rūpa’, ‘sanātana’ and ‘bhāvābhāva-nirmukta’⁵⁵ and says that even gods cannot see his supreme form (*paramam rūpam*—Var 4, 4). Nārāyaṇa is further identified definitely with ‘Puruṣa of the Vedānta’⁵⁶ and the supreme Brahma of the Veda and other holy scriptures⁵⁷. In spite of this identification, a distinction is made between Nārāyaṇa- or Viṣṇu-Brahma and the inferior Viṣṇu of the Trinity. The latter is born of the former and is incarnated on earth (Var 73, 47).

This section was written with a view to popularising the Pāñcarātra system which was losing popular favour in Northern India⁵⁸. It was mainly directed against the antagonistic non-Vedic Pāśupatas (i.e., the Āgamic Śaivas) who were growing in number⁵⁹ most probably at the cost of the Pāñcarātras⁶⁰. Here Rudra is brought in to denounce the non-Vedic Pāśupatas (also called Raudras) as well as their scriptures. The former are blamed as ‘given to mean and sinful acts’, ‘addicted to wine, meat and women’ and the like (Var 71, 58), and the latter are called ‘veda-bāhya’ and ‘tāmasa’ and are said to be meant for deluding and degrading the people (*mohārtham*—Var 70, 41; *patana-kūranam*—Var 70, 42).

The way in which this section ends, shows that originally it was not continued further and that it formed a distinct work by itself. Towards its end, the Boar says to the Earth: “Thus, O beautiful

⁵² Var 66, 10-11.

⁵³ Var 17, 23-25; 90, 3; and so on

⁵⁴ Var 74, 5.

⁵⁵ Var 6, 15.

⁵⁶ *evam vedānta-puruṣah prokto nārāyaṇātmakah|* Var 17, 73.

In the Śatapatha-brāhmana also Nārāyaṇa is identified with Puruṣa and is said to be the author of the Puruṣa-sūkta of the R̥g-veda. See, Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 31.

⁵⁷ Var 39, 16.

⁵⁸ Cf *yugāni triṇi bahavo mām upaisyanti mānavāh|*
antye yuge praviralā bhaviṣyanti madāśrayāh|| Var 70, 34b-35a.

⁵⁹ Cf *asamkhyātās tu te raudrā bhavītāro mahātale* Var 71, 57

⁶⁰ Cf *kalau mat-kṛta-mārgena bahu-rūpena tāmasaiḥ|*
ijyate dvesa-buddhyā sa paramātmā janārdanaḥ|| Var 70, 25.

lady, I have narrated to you the sanctifying and all-giving Samhitā named after the Boar" (*varāhākhyā samhitā*—112, 63), and then gives two traditions of the rise and circulation of the Purāṇa-samhitā. According to one of these traditions, the Samhitā arose from the Omniscient in a previous Kalpa and was learnt by Brahmā, who then gave it to his son Pulastya. Pulastya handed it down to Bhārgava Rāma, Bhārgava Rāma to his own disciple Ugra, and Ugra to Manu. According to the other tradition, the Boar received the Samhitā from the Omniscient in the 'present Kalpa' and gave it to the Earth. The Samhitā would then pass through the sages Kapila and others and reach Vyāsa from whom Lomaharsana would get it and declare it to his own disciple Śaunaka. The Boar next names the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas and finishes by glorifying the study, hearing, preservation and worship of the 'Śāstra named Vārāha'.

In the second section (extending over chapters 113 to 192) Sūta is the general reporter of what the Earth said to Sanatkumāra and others after she had been raised by the Boar. In this section Sanatkumāra, son of Brahmā, asks the Earth to tell him what strange things she experienced while she was upheld by the Boar and what the latter told her. Consequently, the Earth narrates the interlocation between herself and the Boar to Sanatkumāra and the other sages invited by him. Thus, besides Sūta, there are two sets of interlocutors in this section: (1) Sanatkumāra and the Earth, and (2) the Boar and the Earth⁶¹.

Unlike the first, this section bears a distinct Bhāgavata stamp and is meant for guiding the Bhāgavatas especially in their religious observances. In this section the Viṣṇu-worshippers are termed 'Bhāgavata', and this word is used much more frequently than the generic term 'Vaisnava'. The secret Dharma proclaimed by the Boar is to be disclosed only to a sincere Bhāgavata (Var 117, 47); Viṣṇu accepts those things which are preferred by the Bhāgavatas (Var 119, 10); the Bhāgavatas are to be honoured at the end of the worship of Viṣṇu (Var 124, 10); the pure Bhāgavatas are always to be visited and honoured by the people (Var 125, 168); in initiation the Bhāgavata preceptor and other Bhāgavatas are to be honoured (chaps. 127-128); and so forth. Though the name 'Nārāyaṇa' for

It is to be noted that the scriptures of the non-Vedic Pāśupatas are condemned as 'tāmasa', and that Nārāyaṇa and Śiva are regarded as one. Therefore, those, who become non-Vedic Pāśupatas and decry Nārāyaṇa, really worship the latter through the spirit of hostility (dveṣa-buddhi).

⁶¹ Haraprasad Shastri wrongly gives the sets of interlocutors in this section as: (1) Sauti and the Rsis, (2) Sanatkumāra and the Rsis, and (3) the Boar and the Earth. See, Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, p. clxvi.

the highest god is not rarely used, the name 'Viṣṇu' is more frequent here than in the first section. The word 'Vāsudeva' also is used at times⁶². This section is named 'Bhagavacchāstra' in the colophons of almost all the chapters, and its contents are called 'Bhagavat-prokta-dharma' or 'Viṣṇu-prokta-dharma'⁶³. Though the sectarian Mantra '*namo nārāyaṇāya*' is of more frequent occurrence, the Mantra '*om namo vāsudevāya*' also is found to occur⁶⁴.

In the third section (chaps. 193-212) Sūta is the reporter as usual, the interlocutors being the king Janamejaya and the sage Vaiśampāyana⁶⁵. After the twelve-year sacrifice is preformed, the former expiates the murder of 'the Brāhman' and approaches the latter to hear about the results of actions (Karma-vipāka) and the region of Yama. Consequently, Vaiśampāyana narrates the story of Nāciketa in which the latter speaks to his father and other sages about his visit to, and experience of, the realm of Yama.

This third section, named Dharma-saṃhitā (Var 212, 1), constitutes a distinct unit by itself. It does not seem to be connected with the chapters of the first or the second section. The line '*aśvamedhe tathā vrtte rājā vai janamejayah*' towards the beginning of this section proves its isolated character, because in the preceding sections nothing is said about king Janamejaya or his horse-sacrifice. It is highly probable that these chapters were taken from some other source in which the story of Janamejaya was narrated. It is to be noted that though in chaps. 211-212 the method of Viṣṇu-worship is given, the other chapters of this section remarkably lack the characteristics found in the first and second sections.

The contents of the fourth section (chaps. 213 to the end) are reported by Sūta as an interlocution between Sanatkumāra and Brahmā. This section is strictly Śaiva. It treats of the origin and glorification of Uttara Gokarṇa and other holy places in Nepal, which are sacred to Śiva. In connection with these places, Śiva also is glorified. This section was added most probably by an inhabitant of Nepal who wanted to glorify Uttara Gokarṇa in Nepal over Dakṣiṇa Gokarṇa (in Mathurā?). The former is said to contain the greater part of the body of Śiva and to be more sacred than even Prabhāsa, Prayāga, Naimiṣāranya, Puṣkara and Kurukṣetra. There is also mention of the Kṣatriya kings of the Solar race who took possession of the kingdom of Nepal from the

⁶² Cf Var 120, 3 and 51-52; 148, 10; and so on.

⁶³ Var 113, 5 and 122, 89.

⁶⁴ Cf. Var 123, 32; 182, 9.

⁶⁵ Here also Haraprasad Shastri wrongly gives the prominent interlocutors as (1) Lomahaṇṣa and Janamejaya and (2) Sanatkumāra and Brahmā. See, Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, p. clxvi.

Mlecchas, established the Brahmanical religion and popularised the Linga-worship (Var 215, 42-46).

From what has been said above it is clear that the four sections of the Varāha-p. have different characteristics and are, therefore, to be ascribed to different authors. In these four sections themselves, again, there are chapters and verses which are later interpolations. Before we proceed to discuss the dates of these different sections, we shall try to find out these interpolated portions, especially those in the first two sections.

In the first section, chaps 90-97 and 99-112 (verses 1-62) seem to have been added later. Of these, chaps. 90-96, on the origin, exploits and fundamental unity of the three Śāktis,—Brāhmī, Vaisnavī and Raudrī,—are distinctly Śākta documents. Chap. 97 has been inserted by the Śaivas to show the origin of the Rudravrata (also called the Vābhravya- or Śuddhaśaiva-vrata) and to establish the sacredness of the Pāśupāta-śāstra. It is clearly a protest made against chaps. 70-71, in which the Rudravrata and the Pāśupāta-śāstra have been condemned by the Pāñcarātras. Chap. 99 refers to the Vaisnavī Śakti who killed the demon Mahisa on the Mandara hills. So, this chap. cannot possibly be earlier than the chapters (90-96) on the Śāktis. Chapters 99 (verses 54 ff) to 112 (verses 1-62), on different kinds of gifts, have been introduced incoherently. As Var 99, 54b-93 and 112, 53-59 tally respectively with Padma-p. (Srṣti-kh) 34, verses 333-372 and 378-384, it is probable that some one took these portions from the Padma-p. (Srṣti-kh.), developed them with further additions and then inserted the whole into the Varāha-p. That such has been the case with these chapters on gifts seems to be shown by the fact that though in Var 99, 82 the priest of the hungry king Vinītāśva advises the latter to make gifts of Tila-dhenu, Jala-dhenu, Ghṛta-dhenu, Dhenu and Rasa-dhenu for getting rid of hunger, he is found to describe the methods of making many other gifts in chaps. 102-112.

The remaining chapters of the first section may be taken to be contemporaneous, for they are closely interrelated; viz., Var 10, 44 and 50, in which it is said that all informations about Indra and the two demons Vidyut and Suvidyut would be given later, point to chap. 16; Var 11, 112 points to chaps. 17 and 36 (verses 1-8) on the attainment of kingship by the warriors born of the gem given by Viṣṇu to the sage Gauramukha; Var 17, 23-26, referring to the origin of all the gods from Nārāyaṇa, point to chaps. 18-34; and so on.

In the second section (chaps. 113-192), chaps. 140-151 (on the holy places and the duties of women under impurity) and

152-180 (on Mathurā) seem to have been interpolated. Though Kokāmukha, a place sacred to the Boar, is already glorified in chap. 122, there is no reason why it should be repeated by the same author as late as in chap. 140. That chap. 122 was already there when chap. 140 was added is certain, because in Var 140, 4 the Boar refers to Kokāmukha as already described (*tava kokāmukhaṃ nāma yan mayā pūrva-bhāsitam*). There are other reasons why chaps 140-151 can be taken as spurious. Some of the Tirtha-māhātmyas in these chapters are told in the form of predictions; the stories do not resemble those in chaps. 122 (on Kokāmukha), 125-126 (on Kubjāmraka) and 137-138 (on Saukara-ksetra); the line '*prabhātūyām tu śarvaryām udite tu dvākare*' or '*vyatītūyām tu śarvaryām udite ca dvākare*' which occurs often in other chapters not excepting even the chapters on Kokāmukha, Kubjāmraka and Saukara-ksetra, and which, consequently, seems to be a favourite expression of the author of this section of the Purāṇa, is not found in chaps. 140-151; and there is no mention of the duties of women under menstruation in chap. 114 in which the Earth mentions the topics on which the Boar is to speak to her. In chaps 140-151, again, there are some passages which appear to have been added still later. In Var 140, 4-5 the Boar names the three places Kokāmukha, Vadarī and Lohārgala, which he does not leave. Now, the Boar speaks on Kokāmukha and Vadarī in chaps. 140 and 141 respectively, but Lohārgala is taken up as late as in chap. 151. Hence it is highly probable that the intervening chaps. 142-150 are later than chaps. 140-141 and 151.

Chaps. 152-180 (on Mathurā-māhātmya) are ascribed by scholars to Sanātana, a disciple of Caitanya of Navadvīpa⁶⁶. Verse 26 of Var 152 is found quoted in the Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Sanātana and disciple of Caitanya, with the definite mention that the verse is taken from 'the Mathurā-māhātmya of the Varāha-p'⁶⁷. That these chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya are later than the other chapters on holy places in the second section can be little doubted; because the story of the Brahma-rākṣasa in chap. 155 is certainly later than that in chap. 139; the performance of Śrāddha and the offer of rice-balls to the patriarchs in the holy places in Mathurā are highly spoken of in these chapters only; and the name 'Kṛṣṇa', which is rare in other chapters, is used more than once.

⁶⁶ Farquhar, Outline, pp. 309-310

⁶⁷ Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 687. It is believed that the Haribhaktivilāsa was composed by Sanātana but was attributed to Gopālabhaṭṭa, another disciple of Caitanya.

It is difficult to detect the interpolated portions, if any, in the third and fourth sections. These two sections are certainly later than the original chapters in the first two sections.

We are now in a position to discuss the dates of the different chapters of this Purāṇa. Let us begin with the first section. The famous list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu⁶⁸ given in chaps. 4 (verse 2), 48 (verses 17-22) and 55 (verses 35-37), none of which can be proved to be spurious, shows that this list, including the Buddha, was well-known at the time when the first section was composed. If the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu about 550 A.D., then the date of this section of the Varāha-p. cannot reasonably be placed earlier than 650 A.D. From the description of the ten Vratas named after the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, we understand that the Buddha was not only accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu but was popularly worshipped by the Pāñcarātras. Moreover, the idea of the people regarding the delusive nature of the Buddha was forgotten at least by a section of people who worshipped him for attaining physical beauty (*rūpakāmo yajed buddham*—Var 48, 22). Hence the date of composition of the first section should be placed lower still. A comparison between the stories of the sage Gautama in Kūr I, 16, 95 ff. and Var 71 proves the earlier origin of the story in the former Purāṇa. This earlier date of the Kūrma-p. is supported by another evidence. In the Kūrma-p. (I, 25) the Pāśupatas introduce a story that Viṣṇu (in the form of Kṛṣṇa) worshipped Śiva for a son. But in the Varāha-p. (73, 40-50) the Pāñcarātras say that Śiva first worshipped Nārāyaṇa who, at the former's prayer, granted the boon that he would worship Śiva for a favour. Thus the attempt of the Pāśupatas to raise Śiva over Viṣṇu is baffled by the Pāñcarātras. That the author of the first section of the Varāha-p. was acquainted with the Kūrma-p. is shown by the verses common to the chapters narrating the stories of Gautama in the two Purāṇas. Hence it is sure that the first section of the Varāha-p. was written after the Kūrma-p. had been recast by the Pāśupatas. As this recast was made towards the beginning of the 8th century A.D., the date of the first section of the Varāha-p. cannot be placed earlier than the middle of that century. Thus we get the upper limit.

Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses 7-52 of Var 99 in his Haribhakti-vilāsa. This chapter appearing to be spurious, the date of the original chapters of the first section of the Varāha-p. should not

⁶⁸ Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, (Paraśu-) Rāma, Rāma (Dāśarathī), Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki.

be placed later than 1400 A.D. Again, Vidyākara Vājapeyin quotes three verses from Var 66 and 70 in his *Nityācārapaddhati*; Vācaspatimiśra has a good number of verses from chap. 7 in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*; Śūlapāṇi has one verse from chap. 62 in his *Vratākāla-viveka*; Caṇḍeśvara quotes the entire chapters 40, 42 and 58 and also a large number of verses from chaps. 39 and 41 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*; Hemādri draws profusely upon chaps. 13, 14, 31, 32, 34, 37, 39-50, 55-65, 99, 109 and 112 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*; Aparārka quotes a considerable number of verses from chaps. 13, 66, 70, 71 and 112 in his com. on *Yāj*; and Jīmūtavāhana draws upon chaps. 28-30 in his *Kālaviveka* (see App.). Hence the date of the original chapters of the first section of the *Varāha-p.* cannot be placed later than 1000 A.D. As in the *Rudra-gītā* of the *Varāha-p.* the words 'raudra' and 'pāśupata' have been used to mean the Āgamic Śaivas and their scriptures, these chapters should not be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century A.D., because the distinctive terms 'Śaiva' and 'Āgama' were well-known in the 9th century A.D.⁶⁹

Thus the date of the original chapters of the first section of the *Varāha-p.* falls between the middle of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century A.D., i.e., about 800 A.D.

As Hemādri has verses 82-83 and 85-88 from chap. 99 and verses 31-40 from chap. 112 and as Aparārka quotes verses 31-40 from chap. 112, the spurious chapters (Var 99, 54 to Var 112, 62) on gifts cannot be dated later than 1100 A.D. As Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses 7-52 from chap. 99 and as in chap. 99 there is mention of the *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti* who killed Mahiṣa on the Mandara hills, chaps. 90-96 (on the three Śaktis) and 99 (verses 1-52) should not be placed later than 1400 A.D. The lower limit of the date of chap. 97 is not known.

Let us now take up the second section. The use of the pronoun 'tena' for the Boar in the very opening verse (*sa tena sātṛvītyāyāṃ vai prthivyāṃ yaḥ samāgataḥ* etc.) of this section presupposes the chapters of the first. Therefore this section, which is the work of a different hand, is certainly later than 800 A.D. As Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chaps. 119, 128, 129, 131, 139 and 152 in his *Haribhaktivilāsa*, Govindānanda from chaps. 187, 188 and 190 in his *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī*, Dānakriyā-kaumudī and Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī, Śūlapāṇi from chap. 116 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka*, Mādhavācārya from chap. 190 in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Madanapāla from chaps. 188 and 190 in his *Madana-pārijāta*, Caṇḍeśvara from chaps. 116 and 139 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, Ānandatīrtha Madhva from chap. 70 in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*,

⁶⁹ See under *Kūrma-purāṇa* above.

Hemādri from chaps. 116, 139, 188 and 190 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmani*, Devanabhatta from chap. 190 in his *Smṛti-candrikā*, Aniruddhabhatta from chap. 187 in his *Hāralatā* and *Pitr-dayitā*, and Aparārka from chaps. 188 and 190 in his com.⁷⁰, it is sure that the original chapters of this section were composed not later than 1000 A.D.

As chaps. 140-151 are earlier than the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya, the lower limit of the date of the former is to be placed about 1500 A.D. No Nibandha-writer having been found to draw upon them, it is difficult to say anything more accurately.

As to the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya, we have seen that they are later than the spurious chaps. 140-151 but earlier than the date of composition of the *Haribhaktivilāsa*.

The third section, which is certainly later than the original chapters of the preceding sections, was added to the *Varāha-p.* earlier than 1100 A.D., because Mādhavācārya quotes a verse from chap. 202 in his com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya quotes verses from chaps. 210-211 in his *Kṛtyācāra*, Candēśvara from chap. 211 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, Hemādri from chap. 211 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmani*, and Ballālasena from chaps. 205-207 in his *Dānasāgara* (see App.). Hence the date of this section is to be placed between 900 and 1100 A.D.

The date of the fourth section is not known. No Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon it. It does not seem to have been added to the *Varāha-p.* earlier than 1100 A.D.

The results of the above analysis are as follows :

I. First section (comprising chaps. 1-112)

(a) Original

Chaps. 1-89 and 98 .. C. 800 A.D.

(b) Interpolated

Chaps. 90-96, and 99
(verses 1-52) .. Not later than
1400 A.D.

Chap. 97 .. Date not known.

Chap. 99 (verses 53 to the end); Chaps. 100-111; and Chap. 112 (ver- ses 1-62).	}	.. Not later than 1100 A.D.
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⁷⁰ See App.

II. Second section (comprising chaps. 113-192)

(a) Original

Chaps 113-139 and 181-192	..	800-1000 A.D. (later than the original chap- ters in the first sec- tion).
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(b) Interpolated

Chaps. 140-151	..	Not later than 1500 A.D.
Chaps. 152-180	..	Later than chaps. 140- 151 but not later than the date of composi- tion of the Hari- bhaktivilāsa.

III. Third section

Chaps. 193-212	..	Between 900 and 1100 A.D.
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IV. Fourth section

Chaps 213 to the end	..	Not known; probably not earlier than 1100 A.D.
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Besides the four sections of which we have spoken above, the present Varāha contained a fifth section which has been lost. The Nāradiya-p. (I, 103) divides the 'Varāha-p.' into two parts (bhāga)—Pūrva and Uttara, and lays down their contents. According to the Nāradiya, the Uttara-bhāga, in which the interlocutors were Pulastya and king Kuru, treated of Dharmas, Tīrthamāhātmyas and Puṣkara⁷¹. Though the contents of the Pūrva-bhāga agree fully with those of the extant Varāha-p., the Uttara-bhāga is not found at all in the latter. There are, however, references in chap. 217 which show that the contents of the Uttara-bhāga followed this chapter. In Var 217, 1-6 Sanatkumāra enumerates the topics already spoken on by Brahmā and requests the latter to tell him about the origin of Tīrthas. Brahmā, consequently, refers Sanatkumāra to Pulastya who, Brahmā says, would speak on Tīrthas to Kuru-ṛāja and the sages.

⁷¹ *uttare pravibhāge tu pulastya-kururājayoh|
samvāde sarva-tīrthānām mātmyam vistarāt prthak||
āsēsa-dharmāś cākhyātāḥ pauskaram punya-parva ca|*

Nār I, 103, 13-14a.

Though it is difficult to find the provenance of the different sections of the present Varāha-p, we are sure that the first three sections of the present Varāha were composed in Northern India, for almost all of the numerous holy places named in these sections belong to this part of the country. Had the authors of these sections been the inhabitants of Southern India, they would have never ignored the holy places in their own part of the country. The fourth section, which deals with the holy places in Nepal, was most probably composed by an inhabitant of that place.

The authors of at least the first two sections of the Varāha-p appear to have consulted other works before composing these sections. In Var 2, 2b the contents of this Purāṇa are said to have been derived from 'all Śāstras', and in Var 148, 20 this Purāṇa is said to be the essence of all Śāstras⁷². The literal agreement between Var 13 (verses 33 to the end) and 14 (verses 1-50, except 1 and 8a) and Vis III, 14 (verses 4 to the end) and 15 (1 to the end, except 1a, 8b-10, 22-23a and 38) shows that the author of the first section borrowed these common portions from the Visnu-p. The story of Kṛṣṇa's curse on Śāmba and the latter's worship of the Sun (Var 177) is based on Bhav I, 73 ff. The latter Purāṇa is mentioned twice in Var 177.

4. THE PADMA-PURĀṆA

The present Padma, which is the result of several recasts, has come down to us in two distinct recensions—North Indian (Bengal) and South Indian. In Bengal Mss the Purāṇa is found to consist of five Khandas or books arranged in the following order—(1) Sṛṣṭi, (2) Bhūmi, (3) Svarga (4) Pātāla and (5) Uttara. No edition of the Bengal recension has been published. The South Indian recension has been published by the Ānandāśrama and the Venkateśvara Press. In both these editions the Purāṇa

⁷² *kathayāmi purāṇasya viṣayaṃ sarva-śāstrataḥ|*
and
yathā ca mathyamānād vai dadhnaś coddhriyate gṛhṭam|
evam sarvesu śāstresu vārāham gṛhṭa-saṃmitam||

It should be noted that the opening verse

trih-sapta-ṣaṭ-ksiti-mite nṛpa-vikramasya
kāle gate bhagavato hari-bodhanasya|
viśveśvareṇa saha mādharabhaṭṭa-nāmnā
kāśyām varāha-kathitam likhitam purāṇam||

of chap 218 in the Bibl. Ind. ed. of the Varāha-p, cannot be made the basis for any chronological deduction regarding the Purāṇa. It is merely a post-colophon statement of the scribe.

is found to consist of six Khandas, viz., (1) Ādi, (2) Bhūmi, (3) Brahma, (4) Pātāla, (5) Srṣṭi (also called Prakriyā) and (6) Uttara in the AnSS ed., and (1) Srṣṭi, (2) Bhūmi, (3) Svarga, (4) Brahma, (5) Pātāla and (6) Uttara in the Venk. ed. The Ādi-kh. in the former edition is the same as the 'Svarga-khanda' in the latter. Though in this so-called 'Svarga-khanda' (1, 23-24) the six Khandas have been enumerated in the same order and with the same titles as in the AnSS ed., the arrangement and titles of the Khandas in the Venk edition are intended most probably for making the Purāṇa conform as far as possible to the old tradition.

That originally the Padma-p. consisted of five Khandas is evidenced not only by the Bengal Mss, which invariably give the number of the Khandas as five and arrange them in the same order as given above, but also by the printed editions themselves. In almost all places of the latter, except especially in the Ādi or the so-called 'Svarga', the enumeration of the Khandas is exactly the same as in Bengal Mss. In some Mss of the Ādi even, the titles of the five Khandas are found in place of those of the six⁷³.

The Bengal recension which, on account of the number, arrangement and contents of the Khandas, is often more reliable than the South Indian one, does not, however, represent the Padma-p. in its original form. In the Srṣṭi-kh. (1, 54-60) the contents of the five Parvans, corresponding to the five Khandas, are given as follows: the first, called Pauṣkara, treating of creation by Brahmā; the second, called Tirtha-parvan, on mountains, islands and oceans; the third (called Svarga in the Bengal Mss of the Srṣṭi-kh.), on kings who gave rich sacrificial gifts; the fourth, on the genealogies of kings; and the fifth, on salvation. The topics, enumerated at the beginning of the Pātāla-kh. as already dealt with in the Khandas preceding it, agree with the above mentioned contents of the first three Khandas (see under Pātāla-khanda below). At the very outset of the Bengal Mss of the Svarga-kh. also, Sūta refers to the geography of the earth as already described, making no mention of the other topics dealt with in the preceding Bhūmi-kh⁷⁴. From these references it can

⁷³ Ādi-kh., p. 2, footnotes 1 and 2

⁷⁴ Cf., for example, Ms No. 1625 of the Svarga-kh. in the D.U. Mss Lib. This Ms begins as follows:

sūta uvāca —

śeṣa-bhāṣitam ākarṇya tathā bhūgola-varṇanam|
pitā me punar āprechat prapato bādarāyaṇam||
sa niśamya tu bhūgolaṃ munir vātsyāyanah punaḥ|
kim āprechac cheṣanāgaṃ tad bhavān vaktum arhati||

&c.

&c.

be understood that the Bhūmi-kh, in its earlier form, treated mainly of the geography of the earth. It had probably also chapters on holy places from which it could derive its name. But the present Bhūmi-kh. of the Bengal recension is practically a book of legends having only four chapters on geography towards the end. Similar also is the case with the other Khandas, very small portions of which can claim to be original.

We shall now examine the different Khandas

(1) ĀDI-KHANDA. This Khanda, which is purely Vaisnava, begins with a short account of the creation of the universe. It then passes on to the geography of the earth, deals with the glories of various holy places and rivers, and ends with a few chapters on Visnu-bhakti and the duties of the members of the different castes in the different stages of their life

This Khanda has a good number of chapters in common with some of the other Purānas; viz,

Padma-p. (Ādi-kh.)	13, 2 ff.	=	Matsya-p.	186, 6b ff.
"	14-21	=	"	187-194 respectively.
"	30	=	Padma-p. (Uttara-kh.)	243, 1-42.
"	31	=	"	" 243, 43-96b; 244, 67-88a; and 245.
"	33, 3 ff.	=	Kūrma-p. I,	30, 16 ff.
"	34	=	"	I, 31, 3 ff.
"	35	=	"	I, 32, 1b ff.
"	36, 1b ff.	=	"	I, 33, 20 ff.
"	37, 2 ff.	=	"	I, 34 2-19.
"	40, 15 ff.	=	Matsya-p.	103, 1b ff.
"	41-48	=	"	104-111 respectively.
"	49	=	"	112, 1-17.
"	51, 5 ff.	=	Kūrma-p. II,	12.
"	52-56	=	"	II, 13-17 respectively.
"	57-60	=	"	II, 26-29 "

It can be little doubted that as regards these common chapters the Ādi-kh. is the borrower. In order to establish the indebtedness of the Ādi we may compare, for example, the readings and contents

of Ādi-kh. 51-60 with those of Kūr II, 12-17 and 26-29 and of chapters I-III of the Uśanas-saṃhitā

- (a) Uś.-sam. II, 1a *snātvā ca tathā rathyopasarpane.*
Venk ed.—*suptvā ca snātvā*
rathyopasarpane (v. l. 'rathyāva-
sarpane').
Kūr II, 13, 1a { Vanga ed.—*suptvā ca snātvā*
rathyāvasarpane.
- Pd (Ādi) 52, 1a . *suptā ca snātvā rathyāvasarpane.*
(b) Uś.-sam. II, 2b *tathā cādhyayanārambhe.*
Kūr II, 13, 2b . { Venk. ed.—*sṭhivtvādhyayanāram-*
bhe.
Vanga ed.—same as in the Venk. ed.
same as in the Kūrma-p.
- Pd (Ādi) 52, 2b .
(c) Uś.-sam. II, 3a . *saṃāgamya.*
Kūr II, 13, 3a . { Venk. ed.—*saṃāgamya.*
Vanga. ed.—*saṃākramya.*
Pd (Ādi) 52, 3a *saṃākramya.*
- (d) Uś.-sam. II, 3b .. *ācānte cācamet.*
Kūr II, 13, 3b .. { Venk. ed.—*ācānto 'pyācamet.*
Vanga. ed.—same as in the Venk. ed.
same as in the Kūrma-p.
- Pd (Ādi) 52, 3b ..
(e) Uś.-sam. II, 5a .. *aśrupāte tathācāme ahitasya . . .*
Kūr II, 13, 5a .. { Venk. ed.—*ācāmed aśrupāte vā*
lohitasya
Vanga. ed.—same as in the Venk. ed.
same as in the Kūrma-p.
- Pd (Ādi) 52, 5a .
(f) Uś.-sam. II, 6a .. *sprstvā athānyatah.*
Kūr II, 13, 6a .. { Venk. ed.—*suptvā*
athāvyayaḥ (v. l. 'athānyatah').
Vanga. ed.—*suptvā athān-*
yatah.
Pd (Ādi) 52, 6a .. *āgato vā 'camet suptvā sakrt*
sakṛd athānyatah.
- (g) Uś.-sam. II, 7a .. *nṛṇām athāśmanah nīvīm*
vīparidhāya ca.
Kūr II, 13, 7a .. { Venk. ed.—*strīnām athātmanah .*
. . . nīvīm vā paridhāya ca (v. l. 'strīnām athātma-saṃsparśe etc').
Vanga. ed.—*. nīlīm vā . . .*
strīnām athātma-saṃsparśe
nīlīm vā paridhāya ca. . .
- Pd (Ādi) 52, 7a ..

Scores of similar examples may be given, but it is needless to multiply them. The few examples given above are sufficient to show that the Ādi-kh. follows much more the Kūrma-p. than the Uśanas-samhitā. Of course, in a few cases the Ādi-kh. has readings which are found not in the Kūrma-p. but in the Uśanas-samhitā. This can be explained by presuming that the Ms of the Kūrma-p, from which the chapters of the Ādi-kh were derived, had better readings than the Mss on which the printed editions are based. As regards the few cases wherein the Ādi-kh. agrees neither with the Kūrma-p. nor with the Uśanas-samhitā, the scribes of the Mss are probably responsible.

In Ādi-kh, chap. 50, Sūta refers to Karma-yoga, the practice of which alone, he says, can please Viṣṇu, and in chap. 51 he proceeds, at the request of the sages, to describe it to them. Thus the unknown interpolator creates an opportunity for himself to insert some of the chapters of the Kūrma-p. In doing so, he has tried to efface the Śaiva stamp which these chapters bear. Thus in a few places the names of Śiva have been replaced conveniently by those of Viṣṇu⁷⁵, while in many other places the names of the god have been retained intact⁷⁶. In Ādi-kh 60, 32 ff. meditation on Śiva is emphasised; and he, not Viṣṇu, is identified with the supreme Brahma in the same words as in Kūr II, 29, 37 ff.

A comparison of contents of the above mentioned chapters of the Uśanas-samhitā, the Kūrma-p. and the Padma-p. (Ādi-kh.) also shows that the Ādi-kh. borrowed the Smṛti-chapters from the Kūrma-p. Chapters I-IX of the Uśanas-samhitā are found, with some variations in the numbers of verses, in Kūr II, 12-15, 19-23, and 30-33. The intervening chapters, i.e., Kūr II, 16-18 and 24-29, were probably added at the time the incorporation was made, or after it. The Ādi-kh. takes some of the chapters common to the Uśanas-samhitā and the Kūrma-p. and some of those which are found only in the latter. For example, of Kūr II, 12-15, 19-23 and 30-33 the Ādi takes chaps. 12-15 only, and of Kūr II, 16-18 and 24-29 it takes chaps. 16-17 and 26-29, leaving out those chapters which treat of funeral ceremonies, penances, impurity, sacrifices, means of livelihood, daily duties and rules of diet. This shows that the Ādi-kh. used the Kūrma-p. as its source and not *vice versa*. Had the Kūrma-p. been the borrower, it would have been necessary for it to compare the contents of the Uśanas-samhitā with those of the Ādi-kh. and

⁷⁵ Viz., Ādi-kh. 54, 35b where 'mahādeva' of the Kūr has been replaced by 'hr̥ṣīkeśa'; Ādi 57, 26b has 'keśavam' for 'śamkaram' of the Kūr; Ādi 57, 27a reads 'viṣṇur hr̥ṣīkeśah' for 'soma mahādevah' of the Kūr; and so on

⁷⁶ Viz., Ādi 60, 11b; 60, 20a; 57, 28a, 30a and 31b; and so forth.

to accept some chapters from the one and some from the other, while supplementing the borrowed chapters with those of its own composition. Such a case seems to be improbable, especially when we take into consideration the other arguments given above. As regards the few additional verses in some of the chapters common to the Kūrma-p. and the Ādi-kh., it is clear that at least some of them were added later. For example, Kūr II, 14, 57b-61a, which describe the method of Gāyatrī-uddhāra after the manner of the Tantriks, are to be found neither in the Ādi nor in the Venk. ed. of the Kūrma-p. The other such extra verses might have either been later additions to the Kūrma-p. or been lost from the Ādi in course of time.

As to the other chapters common to the Ādi-kh. on the one hand and the Matsya, Padma (Uttara-kh.) and Kūrma-p. on the other, it may similarly be proved that the Ādi-kh. is the borrower. Now, Mat 103-112 are to be dated between 850 and 1250 A.D.; Mat 186-194 are to be placed later than 800 A.D.⁷⁷; Kūr I, 30-34 are to be dated between 700 and 1150 A.D., and most probably between 700 and 800 A.D.; and Kūr II, 12-17 and 26-29 were added between 700 and 800 A.D.⁷⁸ Hence the date of composition, or rather compilation, of the *Ādi-kh.* cannot reasonably be placed before 950 A.D. As its contents have been included in those of the so-called 'Svarga-khaṇḍa' given in the Nāradya-p. (I, 39, 14-19a), it should not be dated later than 1400 A.D.

Though the large majority of the verses quoted by Gopālabhaṭṭa from the Devadūta-vikunḍala-samvāda (interlocution between Devadūta and Vikunḍala) of the 'Pādma', and only a few of the verses quoted from the same Purāṇa in Vācaspatimiśra's Tīrthacintāmaṇi, are traceable in the Ādi-khaṇḍa (chapters 31 and 43 respectively), it is highly probable that these two authors took these verses from the Uttara-kh. (chaps. 243-246) wherein the entire chapter 31 and a few verses, including most of the quoted ones, of chap. 43 of the Ādi-kh. are found.

That part of the Padma-p. which has been published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, under the title 'Svarga-khaṇḍa' is nothing but the combination of the Ādi- and the Brahma-kh. as found in the AnSS ed. The main differences, besides those in readings, between these two editions are that Ādi-kh. (AnSS ed.) 1, 18 to the end, which contain the names of the six Khaṇḍas (viz., Ādi, Bhūmi, Brahma etc.) and which describe how the Padma-p. was inherited by Sūta from Hari through Brahmā, Nārada and Vyāsa, and the entire chapter 24 of the Brahma-kh. are not found in the Vaṅga. ed.

⁷⁷ See under Matsya-purāṇa.

⁷⁸ See under Kūrma-purāṇa.

Ādi-kh. 2, 1a reads '*ādi-sargam aham tāvat* etc.', while the so-called Svarga-kh. (1, 18a) reads '*adya svargam aham* etc.' The 'Svarga-kh.' in the Venk. ed. also gives the names of the six Khandas beginning with the Ādi and reads '*ādi-sargam* etc.' Yet it is called 'Svarga-khanda'. The facts that in some Mss the Ādi- and the Brahma-kh. are combined under the title 'Svarga-khanda' and that the contents of the 'Svarga-khanda' given in Nār I, 93, 14-19a are the same as those of the Ādi- and the Brahma-kh., show that there was a confusion of the Ādi and Brahma with the real Svarga-khanda perhaps on account of the reading '*adya svargam* etc.' in some Mss of the Ādi

(2) BHŪMI-KHAṆḌA.⁷⁹ It has already been said that the Bhūmi-kh., in its earlier form, treated mainly of geography—a topic which is totally wanting in our present edition. Our Bhūmi has become entirely a book of legends. These legends have been introduced in order to prove the sanctity of various holy places and to show how Prahlāda, though a demon, became so great a devotee of Viṣṇu, and why a teacher, a father or a chaste and devoted wife is called a Tirtha. In connection with these legends and glorifications, the duties of the Āśramas have been treated of in chap 59, gifts in chaps 39 and 40, duties of women in chap 41, holy places in chaps. 90 and 92, and Vrata in chap 87

The present Bhūmi does not seem to have come from an early date. At the very beginning of this Khanda the sages refer to the 'Purānas' in which Prahlāda has been said to have pleased Keśava

⁷⁹ The AnSS ed. is almost the same as the Vāga. ed., the main differences, besides those in readings, being that the chapters in the latter edition have often a few additional verses. There are also variations in the numbers of chapters, though the contents are the same; viz.,

AnSS ed.	Vāga ed.
Chaps. 1-14	= Chaps. 1-14 respectively
Chap. 15	= Chaps. 15-16
Chaps. 16-37	= Chaps. 17-38 respectively.
Chaps. 38-39	= Chap. 39
Chaps. 40 to the end	= Chaps. 40 to the end respectively

The Venk. ed. also is generally the same as the AnSS ed. Like the latter it consists of 125 chapters which correspond to those in the latter ed.

The contents of the Bhūmi-kh., as found in the Bengal recension, are more variegated than those of the AnSS ed. Chaps 1-120 of this recension (see Ms No. 1622, D.U. Mss Lib.) are in general agreement with the chapters of the AnSS edition; chaps. 121-127 deal with the Sthāvara-tirtha; chaps. 128-131 with Bhūgola-varnana; chap 132 with Purāṇa-mahima-varnana; and chap. 133 with Viśayānukrama. Chaps 121 to the end of the Ms are not found in the AnSS edition.

even at the age of five; and they ask Sūta why, during the war between the gods and demons, this Prahlāda fought with Vāsudeva and was ultimately killed and absorbed by the latter. In answer to this question, Sūta tells them the legends of Somaśarman. The above reference to the age and conduct of Prahlāda betrays an acquaintance of the author of the Bhūmi-kh. with the Bhāgavata-p., in which alone the legend of Prahlāda has been told with the express mention of his age⁸⁰. Therefore, the date of the Bhūmi-kh. cannot possibly be earlier than the beginning of the seventh century A.D. This limit is supported by the mention of the Buddha among the incarnations of Viṣṇu in Bhūmi-kh. 18, 66. We have seen that the Buddha began to be regarded as such probably from about 550 A.D. (see under Matsya-p.). Further, in Bhūmi 78 the 'Turuskas' have been mentioned as Mlecchas, who have no lock of hair left on the crown of their head (śikhāvihīna), kill cows and Brāhmins, fall easy prey to appetite, have itches, do not tuck the hem of their lower garment into the waistband (mukta-kaccha), are of furious temperament, are habituated adulterers, eat everything without discrimination, marry girls of their own Gotras, and are guilty of similar other vices. The mention of the 'Turuskas' and the way in which they are described, mean undoubtedly the Muhammadans who came to India about the ninth century A.D. Hence the date of the *Bhūmi-kh.* cannot reasonably be placed earlier than 900 A.D. Such a late date is supported not only by the importance given to the Tulasi plant and by the mention of a wife as a Tirtha but also by the fact that none of the numerous verses quoted from the 'Padma-p.' or 'Pādma' in Devanabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā, Aparārka's com. on Yāj., Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's Hāralatā, Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Madanapāla's Madanapārijāta, Vācaspatimiśra's Tirtha-cintāmaṇi, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, Vidyākara Vājapeyin's Nityācārapaddhati, Śūlapāṇi's Dīpakalikā, Vratākāla-viveka, Prāyaścitta-viveka and Śrāddha-viveka, Candēśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's Kṛtyācāra, Govindānanda's Varṣakriyā-kaumudī, and Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, is traceable in this Khanda.

The Bhūmi-kh., which is presumably a work of the Bhāgavatas⁸¹, was written most probably somewhere about the river Narmadā, because this river, which is also called Revā⁸², has been

⁸⁰ Bhāg VII, 5, 36 (*pañca-hāyanah*).

In the Viṣṇu-p. also the story of Prahlāda is given, but there is no express mention of his age.

⁸¹ Cf. Bhūmi-kh. 98, 99, wherein the Bhāgavata Mantra 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' has been given.

glorified more than once and declared to have a sanctifying power much greater than that of even the Gangā, Sindhu etc⁸³.

(3) BRAHMA-KHANDA. This Khanda, in which the interlocutors are Sūta and Śaunaka, occupies the third place in our edition of the Padma-p. But its real position seems to have been immediately after the Ādi-kh., for Śaunaka, who appears in this Khanda without even a single word of introduction, is introduced first at the beginning of the Ādi-kh. but is not found in the Bhūmi-kh. which intervenes between the Ādi and the Brahma.

The Brahma-khaṇḍa is a short one consisting of 26 chapters only. It is concerned with the description of Vaiṣṇava feasts and festivals. Thus, it treats of the merits of besmearing a Viṣṇu-temple with cowdung and of burning a lamp there at night, the observances during the month of Kārttika, the Jayantī-vrata, the Guruvāra-vrata, the birthday festivals of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the Ekādaśī-vrata, the worship of Viṣṇu on the fullmoon day, and the offer of various things to Viṣṇu. The merits of observing these festivals have been illustrated with various stories. In connection with the birthday festival of Rādhā, the story of the churning of the ocean has been narrated.

This Khaṇḍa comes undoubtedly from a very late date. It speaks highly of the gifts of lamps to the shrines of Viṣṇu. The birthday festival of Rādhā has been treated of in chap. 7 and referred to in other places. The Tulasī plant has been glorified in chap. 22 and called the 'wife of Hari' in chap. 10. Brāhmaṇa-māhātmya has been dealt with in chap. 14, wherein Sūta says: "O best of the twice-born, a Brāhmaṇa is superior to (the members of) all castes. He is known to be a prop of all the gods, and is (identical with) the lord Nārāyaṇa. . . . The man who licks a particle of water sticking to the foot of a Brāhmaṇa, gets rid of all sins (arising out) of the murder of Brāhmaṇs, etc. . . . By serving the feet of a twice-born a sonless woman is gifted with a son, and one, who brings forth dead children, bears living ones. The holy places existing in the universe are found in a sea, and those in the latter exist at the feet of a twice-born". All these are unmistakable stamps of a very late age. The inscriptional evidences show that the gifts of lamps to shrines became popular in southern India from about the end of the ninth century A.D.⁸⁴.

⁸³ See Pd (Bhūmi-kh.) 92, 32; Devī-p (Vaṅga. ed.) 37, 41; Sk V, iii (Revā-kh.) 5, 7; Eggeling, Ind. off. Cat., VI, p. 1308; and so on.

⁸⁴ Bhūmi-kh. 92

⁸⁴ Ep. Ind., III, 1894-5, pp. 281 and 284; V, pp. 42-44 and 104-106; VII, 1902-3, pp. 183 ff. and 188 ff.; and so on. JASB, Vol. LXXII, 1903, p. 120.

The birthday festival of Rādhā also indicates the late origin of the Khanda, there being no mention of the Rādhā-cult in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Harivamśa and the earlier Purāṇas. 'Nimbārka, probably in the 12th century, regards Rādhā as the eternal consort of Kṛṣṇa, who, in his view, is not merely an incarnation of Viṣṇu, but the eternal Brahma. It was not until the 16th century that the sect of the Rādhāvallabhins, who attach great importance to the worship of Rādhā as Śakti, arose⁸⁵. The use of the Tulasī leaves in Viṣṇu-worship, the deification of the plant, and the undue glorification of Brāhmins also point to a late date which is further supported by the fact that none of the Nibandha-writers are found to name or draw upon this Khanda. Its contents are, however, included in those of the so-called 'Svarga-khanda' given in the Nāradya-p. Hence *its date cannot be placed later than 1400 A.D.*

(4) PĀTALA-KHAṇḌA. ⁸⁶. This Khaṇḍa begins with Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana as interlocutors, their interlocution being reported by Sūta to the sages.

At the very outset of this Khaṇḍa, the sages mention the Svarga-kh. as already listened to⁸⁷. This shows that the Pātāla-kh. was preceded immediately by the Svarga-kh. and not by the Brahma-kh. as in the printed editions. That this Svarga-kh. is

⁸⁵ Winternitz, Ind Lit., Vol I, p 568, footnote 3. Also Grierson, ERE, X, pp 559 ff Farquhar, Outline, p 318

⁸⁶ Though the AnSS ed has 113 chapters in place of only 72 of the Vanga ed., their contents are in general the same. The cause of such variation in the number of chapters is that a good number of chapters of the Vanga ed. have each been broken up into two or more chapters in the AnSS ed. The readings in the two editions agree closely, but the chapters in the Vanga ed. have sometimes a few more verses than those in the AnSS ed.

The Venk. ed of the Pātāla-kh. contains 117 chapters, but its contents are on the whole the same as those of the Vanga and AnSS editions.

The Pātāla-kh of the Bengal recension differs considerably from the printed editions. In Ms No 1623 (D U. Mss Lib.) there are practically four groups of chapters. Of these, chaps 1-28, constituting the first group, deal with the description of the subterranean regions, the story of killing the demon Tripura, the legends of the kings of the Solar race, and especially the Rāma-legend. These chapters are not found in the printed editions. Chaps 29-96, forming the second group, tally generally with chaps 1-68 of the AnSS ed. Chaps 97-99, constituting the third group, deal with the descendants of Rāma and with the glories of the Bhāgavata-p., and are not found in the printed editions. Chaps. 100 to the end of the fourth group describe the Kṛṣṇa-legend and have their parallels in the printed editions.

⁸⁷ *śrutam sarvaṃ mahābhūga svarga-khaṇḍam manoharam*

not the same as the 'Svarga-khanda' of the Vanga. and Venk editions is shown by Vātsyāyana's enumeration of the topics dealt with in those parts of the Padma-p. which preceded the Pātāla-khanda. These topics are: accounts of creation, destruction etc. of the world; geography of the earth and the universe; the solar system; stories of kings; stories of the kings of the Solar race, and the story of Rāma and his horse-sacrifice. Of these, the accounts of creation, destruction etc are to be found in the Srsti-kh; geography was dealt with in the Bhūmi-kh., and the accounts of the solar system and stories of kings occur in the Svarga-kh. of the Bengal recension.

The Pātāla-kh. consists of three distinct parts, viz,

(A) chaps 1-68—on Rāma's return from Lankā and celebration of the horse-sacrifice

(B) chaps. 69-99—on Kṛṣṇa-carita, including Vaiśākha-māhātmya,

and (C) chaps. 100 to the end—on Rāma's life after the horse-sacrifice

These three parts are quite unconnected and distinct in character, and deserve separate consideration.

(A) Chaps. 1-98. This portion of the Purāna is avowedly Rāmaite. It deifies Rāma and conceives him as Viṣṇu incarnate. Sītā is identified with Lakṣmī. The utterance of Rāma's name is said to be extremely sanctifying and capable of conferring final release.

In this portion there are a few chapters on Smṛti-matter; viz, chap 9 (verses 40-63) deals with Varnāśramadharma, chaps 17-22 with holy places, and chap. 48 (verses 4-69) with the results of actions. These chapters and verses are found in the Bengal Mss also.

Pātāla-kh 1-68 do not seem to be of very early origin. The fact that in the Bengal Mss of this Khanda the first twenty-eight chapters end with the passing of Rāma to heaven, indicates that the portion dealing with Rāma's celebration of the horse-sacrifice is the work of a different hand. Otherwise, the story of the sacrifice would have preceded that of Rāma's climbing the heaven. Now, from the mention of the Bhāgavata-p. in Pātāla 10, 65 it seems that chaps. 1-68 were written later than the end of the sixth century A.D. The occurrence of the name of the Tulasi plant in more places than one and the reference to its worship, tend to assign a much later date to the chapters. It is highly

probable that these chapters were added to the Pātāla-kh after the Muhammadans had come to India, because in Pātāla 33, 43 people are advised not to drink water from the wells of the Mlecchas. It is noteworthy in this connection that none of the verses quoted by the early Nibandha-writers from the Padma-p. is found in the present Pātāla-kh

In chap. 66 the Rāmāyana is said to consist of six Kāndas—Bāla, Āraṇyaka, Kiskindhyā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara. The contents of each of these Kāndas have also been given. The mention of the 'six Kāndas' of the Rāmāyana should not be taken to assign Pātāla 1-68 to an early date, because the Bāla-kānda includes the contents of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa also.

(B) Chaps 69-99. This portion, in which Sūta reports to the sages the interlocution between Śiva and Pārvatī on Kṛṣṇa-carita, was certainly added later. At the beginning of the Pātāla-kh. Vātsyāyana requests Śeṣa to tell him elaborately about the celebration of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Rāma, no mention being made of Kṛṣṇa-carita.

In this portion Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā have been glorified. Here Kṛṣṇa has sometimes been identified with the supreme Brahma. He is Viṣṇu incarnate. His worship frees the worshipper of all sins and gives him final release. Rādhā is called Kṛṣṇa's Śakti. She is the 'avyayā mūla-prakṛti', of which Durgā and other goddesses are infinitesimal parts. "Millions of Viṣṇus are born of the dust of her feet". Vṛndāvana, the place of the love adventures of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and other Gopīs, is highly praised. It is said: "Vṛndāvana is the most secret place in the world. It is holy and beautiful. It is the imperishable, blissful and eternal place of Govinda. It is not separate from his body and is the prop of the bliss of experiencing the supreme Brahma". By these and similar other extravagant expressions Vṛndāvana has been equaled with the eternal abode of Viṣṇu.

Besides the stories and praises of gods and goddesses, there are a few chapters on Smṛti-topics; viz, chaps 78-79 deal with the worship of Śālagrāma, chap. 80 with the worship of Viṣṇu, chaps. 81-82 with initiation, and chaps. 84-99 with the Vratas in the month of Vaiśākha.

Pātāla-kh. 69-99 seem to have come from a very late date. In connection with the description of Vṛndāvana, mention is made of the 'stealing of clothes' by Kṛṣṇa and the worship of the goddess Kātyāyanī by the Gopīs. This mention betrays the

acquaintance of the author of these chapters with the Bhāgavata-p. Further, in these chapters there are numerous traces of a developed Rādhā-cult. Indications of Tantricism here are also not negligible. The 'Tantras' and 'Āgamas' have been mentioned as authorities more than once; the Tantric Yantra has been recognised as one of the mediums of worship (Pātāla 79, 1); and the use of the Tantric formulae, Nyāsa, Mudrā etc. has been ordained. The method of the worship (sādhana) of Kṛṣṇa, as laid down in chap. 83, wants that the worshipper should always consider himself a maiden fit for cohabitation with Kṛṣṇa. These facts considered together show that Pātāla-kh. 69-99 are most probably to be dated not earlier than 900 A.D. These chapters are, of course, not later than 1400 A.D., for Gopālabhatta quotes numerous verses from chaps. 84-94 and 96 in his Haribhaktivilāsa (see App), and the contents of these chapters are given in Nārādiya-p. I, 93.

(C) Chaps. 100 to the end. This portion, in which the interlocation between Śaṁkara (i.e., Śiva) and Rāma is reported by Sūta to the sages, was undoubtedly written by the Linga-worshippers. Though here the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the form of Rāma is recognised and also often asserted, it is Śiva who is assigned a higher place. The Śaiva character of this portion is best shown by the facts that the method of Linga-worship has been given elaborately at several places and the glories of the ashes (bhasma) have been sung in many of the chapters.

In this portion chaps. 101 and 113 deal with funeral ceremonies, chap. 102 with the duties of women, chaps. 101, 105 and 110 with Linga-worship, chap. 108 with Vrata, and chap. 110 with Yuga-dharma.

The date of this portion of the Pātāla-kh. cannot be placed earlier than 800 A.D. In chap. 102, verses 1-2, the Kūrma-p. has been mentioned as conferring devotion to Śiva; and in Pātāla 110, 483 this Purāṇa has been prescribed to be read, because it preaches the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Such a character of the Kūrma-p. and its prescription by the Linga-worshippers point to its Pāśupata character. As this portion does not seem to be earlier than chaps. 1-68, it should be dated later than 900 A.D.

In Pātāla-kh. 100, 44-50 the method of writing a few syllables is described in connection with copying the Purāṇas for the enhancement of one's religious merits. But this description should not be taken as basis for determining the date of Pātāla-kh. 100 to the end.

(5) SRSTI-KHAṆḌA ⁸⁸. This Khanda, which is assigned the fifth place in our edition, is really the first of the set. This position of the Khanda is betrayed by the mode of its beginning as well as by the sequence and contents of the five Parvans given in chap 1.

This Khanda, as we have it now, can be rightly divided into two parts

(1) chaps. 1-43 (verses 1-97)

and (2) chaps 43 (verses 98 ff) to the end.

It will be seen hereinafter that the chapters of the second part were added to the Srsti-kh after the Muhammadans had established kingdoms in India. Hence the chapters of the first part, which are of earlier date, are examined first

⁸⁸ The Srsti-khanda in Bengal Ms^e consists only of 46 (or according to Aufrecht, 45) chapters. The corresponding chapters in a Bengal Ms (No 1621, D U Mss Lib) of this Khanda and the AnSS ed are given below

Ms of Srsti-kh	AnSS ed	Ms of Srsti-kh	AnSS ed
Chaps 1-22	= Chaps 1-22 respectively	Chaps 37-38	= Chaps 35-36 respectively.
Chap 23	= „ 23, and 24, 1-63	Chap 39	= „ 37, and 38,1
Chaps. 24-27	= Chap 24, 64-277	„ 40	= Chap 38, 2 to the end
Chap 28	= „ 25, 8b to the end	„ 41	= „ 39 (especially except verses 15-31 and 95-96)
Chap 29	= Chaps 26-27	Chaps 42-43	= „ 40, 1-439a.
Chaps 30-35	= „ 28-33 respectively	Chap 44 (especially except verses 1-32)	= „ 40, 439b to the end.
Chap 36	= Chap. 34 (especially except verses 156-165)	„ 41, 1-106	
		Cf. chaps. 45-46 with chaps 42-43.	

The numbers of verses in these corresponding chapters very seldom agree. It is noteworthy that as regards the chapters borrowed from the Matsya-p, the Ms is at times more true to its original than the printed edition which appears to have undergone additions and losses.

The contents of the Vanga ed of the Srsti-kh are in general agreement with those of the AnSS ed. except in that chaps. 80 and 81 (on the worship of the Moon and the Mars) in the former edition are not found in the latter, and chaps. 30 and 31, 1-3 (on the origin and exploits of the goddess Ksemankari) in the latter edition are not found in the former. There are, of course, differences in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

The Venk. ed. of this Khanda does not contain the story of Ksemankari. It resembles much the Vanga, ed.

A careful study of the chapters of the first part shows that they should be divided again into several groups; viz.,

group 1—chapters 1-18, 29 and 31 (verses 76 to the end);

group 2—chapters 19-28, 32-42 and 43 (verses 1-97);

group 3—chapter 31 (verses 8b-75); also others like chap. 20, verses 139b-143a;

and group 4—chapters 30 and 31 (verses 1-8a).

The chapters of group 1, which begins with a verse extolling the holy waters of Puskara and mentioning Brahmā and the Vipras, constitute the nucleus of the present *Srṣṭi-kh*. This section of the *Khanda* was written, or rather compiled, by the Brahmā-worshippers. It contains an interesting story which is important in that it throws light on the contemporary state of Brahmā-worship as well as on the motive with which the Brahmā-worshippers set to write this part of the work. The story says that once Brahmā instituted at Puskara a pompous sacrifice which was attended and contributed to by all the gods. When everything was ready and the time for initiation was drawing near, a priest invited Sāvitrī, wife of Brahmā, to come to the sacrificial hall. But Sāvitrī was engaged in managing household affairs. She declined to go until her work was finished and the goddesses turned up to accompany her. The priest, therefore, returned to Brahmā and told him what Sāvitrī had said. Brahmā was angry and asked Indra to procure a second wife for him. Consequently, Indra brought in Gāyatrī, an Ābhīra girl. Then Sāvitrī came to the place in company with the goddesses and found Gāyatrī. She got angry and cursed Brahmā saying that the people would not worship him at any time throughout the whole year except only once in the month of Kārttika⁸⁹. She also cursed Gāyatrī and the gods and goddesses present, and went away. Then, Gāyatrī rose up and gave a boon to Brahmā that those people, who would worship him, would have enough of worldly prosperity in this life and attain final emancipation in the end⁹⁰. She granted boons to the other gods and goddesses also.

The above story shows that the motive of the Brahmā-worshippers was to revive Brahmāism which was in a decadent state. Many of the worshippers of Brahmā accepted Śaivism⁹¹, and the worship of the god was growing obsolete. The Brahmā-worshippers, therefore, fabricated stories to extol Brahmā and his worship and to explain away the growing unpopularity of the

⁸⁹ *Srṣṭi-kh.* 17, 152-153.

⁹⁰ *Srṣṭi-kh.* 17, 260-261.

⁹¹ Cf. *Srṣṭi-kh.* 14, 138a—*'kotyāḥ śatam tu viprāṇāṃ uddhartān mahādyute'*—addressed by Brahmā to Śiva. 'Vipras' are the worshippers of Brahmā.

worship of the god by ascribing it to the curse of Sāvitrī. They also borrowed a number of chapters from the Matsya and the Viṣṇu-p. In these chapters they substituted the names of other gods with those of Brahmā and made similar other changes in order that these borrowed chapters might serve their sectarian end. The chapters borrowed from the Matsya-p. have already been enumerated (see under Matsya-p.). Those taken from the Viṣṇu-p. are given below.

Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-kh.)

Viṣṇu-p.

2, 83 to the end (except a few lines)	= I, 2, verses 10-13a, 14b, 33b and 34 to the end.
3, 1-20a	= I, 3 (except a good number of verses).
3, 20b-52	= I, 4 (except a good number of verses).
3, 53-116	= I, 5, 4b to the end.
3, 117-155a	= I, 6.
3, 155b-188a	= I, 7.
3, 188b to the end	= I, 8, 1-13.
4, 1 and 4-83a	= I, 8, 14; and I, 9, 1-38a, 66b and 76-113a.
13, 348-349a, 350b, 352-363 and 364b-376.	} = III, 17, 41-42a; and III, 18, 1a, 2-6a, 7-17, 19 and 23-29.

[These corresponding chapters differ more or less in the numbers of verses. The Vaṅga. ed. is often more faithful to its original than the AnSS ed.]

The chapters in group 2 are different from those in group 1 in general character, some being Vaisnava, some Rāmāite and some Śaiva. A good number of these chapters have been borrowed from the Matsya-p., but they do not show any traces of the attempt of the Brahmā-worshippers to adapt them to their own purpose. Hence it can be little doubted that the chapters of the second group were added to the Sṛṣṭi-kh. by some people other than the Brahmā-worshippers. These chapters, being rooted in those of group 1 and frequently referring to the events and stories in the latter, are certainly later in date. Their comparatively late date is further established by the story of king Śveta (in Sṛṣṭi-kh. 33, 85 ff.) which is different from that in chap. 31 (verses 104 ff.) of the first group.

The portions of chapters constituting the third group are the works of those Brahmā-worshippers who were influenced by Tantricism, for the method of Brāhmī initiation (dikṣā) described in *Srṣṭi-kh* 31, 8b-75 is highly Tantric. This method of initiation stands in great contrast with that briefly described in chap 15 (verses 96 ff) of group 1. This latter form of initiation is to be carried out 'after the Vedic method' (*vedohtena vidhānena*), and it is free from Tantric influence. The fact that there is no Tantric element either in the above mentioned chapter or in others proves the comparatively late date of the sections in the third group. The occurrence of some of these sections in the chapters of group 2, shows that the former are later than the latter.

The chapters forming the fourth group deal with the origin and exploits of Kṣemankarī, a Śākta deity on the Puskara hills. They are, therefore, the works of a Śākta hand. Their absence from the Vanga and Venk editions tends to prove their comparatively recent origin.

From the above discussion about the different groups of chapters constituting the first part it follows that *the Srṣṭi-kh. was first written, or compiled, by the Brahmā-worshippers; it was then taken up by some non-Brāhmas who added to it many new chapters; next, the Tantric Brāhmas interpolated some verses or groups of verses; and last of all the Śāktas made further additions.*

As to the dates of these chapters it can be said that those of group 1 were written most probably not earlier than 600 A.D. Those chapters (viz., 16-22) of the *Matsya-p.*, which have been borrowed in this group, cannot reasonably be dated earlier than 400 A.D. (see under *Matsya-p.*). Moreover, the decadent state of Brahmāism which is indicated by the chapters of this group, points to a period later than that of Varāhamihira, during whose time the Brahmā-sect was still a living one. Therefore, 600 A.D. may be taken to be the upper limit of the date of the chapters of the aforesaid group. As verses have been quoted from chap. 10 in the *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana, from chap. 15 in the *Kṛtyācāra* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, from chap. 31 in the *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Candēśvara, from chaps. 9, 10, 17 and 31 in the *Caturvarga-cintāmani* of Hemādri, from chaps. 10, 15 and 31 in the *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena, from chap. 7 in the *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa, from chap. 10 in the *Hāratalā* of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, and from chaps. 8 and 31 in Aparārka's com. on Yāj. (see App.), it is sure that the chapters of the first group were written earlier than 950 A.D. Again, the date of the chapters of the second group also cannot be placed later than 950 A.D., because

Raghunandana quotes a number of verses from chap. 20 in his *Smṛti-tattva*, Vidyākara Vājapeyī from the same chapter in his *Nityācārapaddhati*, Mādhavācārya from chap. 27 in his com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chap. 20 in his *Kṛtyācāra*, Hemādri from chaps 20-24 and 27-28 in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Ballālasena from chaps. 37 and 42 in his *Adbhutasāgara*⁹², Aparārka from chap. 20 in his com. on *Yāj*, and Jīmūtavāhana from chap. 27 in his *Kālaviveka* (see App) Therefore, the chapters constituting the first and second groups are to be dated between 600 and 950 A.D. If a gap of at least 50 years be allowed between the dates of the chapters of the two groups, then *the chapters of the first group should be dated between 600 and 750 A.D., and those of the second between 800 and 950 A.D. It is, however, highly probable that the former were put into the Srsti-kh. in the latter half of the seventh and the latter in the former half of the eighth century A.D.*

The chapters of the third and fourth groups, being later than those of the first two, cannot reasonably be dated earlier than about 850 A.D. As no Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon them, it is difficult to say anything about the lower limit.

Chapters 43 (verses 98 ff) to the end, which, according to our division, form the second part of the work, are not found in the Bengal Mss. So their comparatively late date can be well understood. These chapters were written and added to the *Srsti-kh.* after the Muhammadans had established kingdoms in India. These foreigners have been called kings⁹³ and scornfully described more than once under the names 'Turuska', 'Mleccha' and 'Yavana'⁹⁴. The descriptions are undoubtedly aimed at the Muhammadans who 'polluted' the society and the land of the Hindus by their contact and slaughter of cows. Hence the date of composition of this part of the *Srsti-kh.* can by no means be placed earlier than 1000 A.D. Such a late date is supported by the contents also, which are replete with Tantric elements. The Āgamas have many times been mentioned as authorities along with the Vedas and the Purāṇas; the Tulasi plant has been glorified in highly extravagant language; and so on. As Hemādri quotes

⁹² In connection with the quotations the following stories of the *Padma-p.* have been mentioned in the *Adbhutasāgara*:

- (i) *Hiranyakaśipu-vadha* (*Adbhs.* pp. 20, 23, 50 etc.);
- (ii) *Tārakāmaya yuddha* (*Adbhs.* pp. 319, 332 etc.);
- (iii) *Deva-parājaya* (*Adbhs.* p. 409).

These stories occur in the *Srsti-kh.*

⁹³ *Srsti-kh.* 74, 51—*nṛpā mlecchāḥ*.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44, 71-78; 58, 91-92 and 94; and 74.

verses from chap 47 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi at least some of the chapters of this part of the Śiṣṭi-kh must be dated earlier than 1200 A.D.

The Śrṣṭi-kh, with its latest additions, were, however, practically complete before 1400 A.D., because the contents of this Khanda given in Nār I, 93 are exactly the same as those of our edition. Isolated verses might, of course, have been inserted here and there in this Khanda even after 1400 A.D., but those are not many and important.

(6) UTTARA-KHANDA.⁹⁵ This Khanda is a conglomeration of legends and glorifications, some of which appear as independent works in Mss⁹⁶. It also contains a few chapters on marriage, gifts, worship, vows, and the duties of the castes and Āśīamas.

In spite of its big volume, this Khanda does not seem to contain even a single chapter which can claim an early origin. On the other hand, stamps of late age are discernible at every step. For instance, the famous list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha and Kalki occurs in more places than one⁹⁷, showing its well established character. The Tulasī plant is not only mentioned and glorified in the majority of the chapters but also deified. A Vrata called the Tulasī-trīrātri-vrata is narrated, and long stories about the origin of the goddess Tulasī are given. The Bhāgavata-p is mentioned in chap. 63, verse 55 and glorified in chaps. 190 ff. The worship of the five deities (pañcāyatana-pūjā) of the Smārtas is referred to in one place (viz., Uttara-kh.

⁹⁵ The Ms (No 1624, DU Mss Lib) of the Uttara-kh does not always agree with the AnSS ed. The arrangement of its chapters is quite different, and it contains a few chapters which are not found in the printed ed. In the common chapters also there are differences in readings, numbers of verses, and interlocutors.

This Ms has preserved the marks of the interfering hands of the Rādhā-vallabhins and the followers of Madhva and Rāmānuja. For instance, in chap. 106 the sect-mark of the Rādhā-vallabhins is mentioned more than once, in chaps. 162-163 the worship of Rādhā is treated of; in chap. 101 the four Vaiṣṇava sects including Śrī and Mādhvī are mentioned (*atah kalau bhavisyanti catvārah sampradāyinaḥ | śrī-mādhvī-rudra-saṅkā vaiṣṇavāḥ kṣṇī-pāvanāḥ*); and in chap. 78 there is mention of the method of initiation introduced by Rāmānuja (*śrīmad-rāmānuja-dīkṣā-vidhānam vidhi-pūrvakam | kathitum*).

⁹⁶ For example, independent Mss of the Bhāgavata-māhātmya and Māgha-māhātmya are sometimes found. These Māhātmyas, however, derive their authority from the Padma-p.

⁹⁷ Uttara-kh. 31, 13-14; 68, 51; 72, 27; 72, 279 and 283; 76, 9-11; and 257, 40-41.

90, 63) and included among the daily duties of the people in another (viz., Uttara-kh. 233, 41) The Kūrma-p. is included among the Tāmāsa Purānas glorifying Śiva in Uttara-kh 263, 81. There are also marks of Tantric influence, so much so that the Tantras and Āgamas are regarded as authorities and Tantric Mantras are prescribed.

The above internal evidences, considered together, show that the *Uttara-kh.* can scarcely be earlier than 900 A.D. This late date of the Khanda seems to be supported by the fact that none of the verses quoted in the early Nibandhas from the 'Padma-p.' or 'Pādma' is traceable in it.

That the Uttara-kh. is not a unified work scarcely requires any evidence to prove. The appearance of some of its parts in independent Mss shows that these parts did not originally belong to the Khandā. Further, in the marginal notes in a Ms of the Yathārtha-mañjarī⁹⁸ it is written that according to a Purānācārya named Narasimha Ṭhakkura, Madhvācārya wrote three hundred verses on the denouncement of the ashes and the Rudrāksas and added them to the Uttara-khandā⁹⁹. Though the absence of such verses subjects the above information to doubts, there is a chapter (263) which seems to have been interpolated by some person belonging to the Śrī or Mādhva sect. In this chapter the Pāsandins, including especially the Śiva-worshippers, have been described and the Māyā-vāda (of Śaṅkarācārya) has been denounced as Pracchanna Bauddha (i.e., Buddhist in disguise). This chapter, however, cannot be dated later than 1500 A.D., because Vijñāna Bhikṣu (middle of the 16th century) quotes in his Sāmkhyapravacana-bhāṣya those verses from this chapter which contain the above mentioned denouncement (see App.).

Though the Uttara-kh. was open to additions and modifications down to a very recent date¹⁰⁰, it seems to have attained practically its present contents earlier than 1500 A.D. Vācaspati-miśra, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa and Vijñāna Bhikṣu quote verses from some of the chapters of this Khandā (see App.);

⁹⁸ Ms No. 4093, dated 1734 Śaka, D.U.Mss Lib. The author is Śrītīrtha-svāmin, or Rāmānanda-tīrtha according to R. L. Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit Mss, L. 1017.

⁹⁹ *tārhi pādmiya-dvītyottara-khande yad bhasma-rudrākṣa-nindā tat-khandīya-trīṣata-ślokanām madhvācārya-kṛtatvam purānācārya-narasimha-ṭhakkureṇa likhitam* Yathārtha-mañjarī, fol. 5b.

*asmīn eva khaṇḍe kalau śiva-pūjāyām abhiśāpo likhitaḥ |
ataḥ pūrvāparāsaṃlagnatvād asmin khaṇḍe trīṣata-śloka
madhvācārya-kṛtā itī narasimhena likhitam.*—Yathārtha-mañjarī, fol. 67b.

¹⁰⁰ This is best shown by the untraceable quoted verses and by a comparison between the printed text of the Uttara-kh. and that preserved in Bengal Mss.

the contents of the 'Uttara-khanda' as given in Nār I, 93 seem to tally with those of the AnSS ed.; and there is a Ms¹⁰¹ of the Māgha-māhātmya which is dated 1311 Śaka.

5. THE BRĤANNĀRADIYA AND THE NĀRADIYA PURĀṆA.

As these two Purāṇas are closely interrelated and as either of them has sometimes been taken to be the original Nāradiya Purāṇa¹⁰², it is necessary to examine them in order to understand their true character.

The Brhannāradiya¹⁰³ is purely a sectarian work lacking all the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa. It describes the Vaiṣṇava feasts and ceremonies illustrated by various legends and contains chapters on the glorification of the Ganges, the duties of the castes and Āśramas, the funeral sacrifices and expiations, and so forth. It is preeminently a work on Viṣṇu-bhakti (devotion to Viṣṇu) which is said to have ten gradations, viz., Tāmasādhama, Tāmasa-madhyamā, Tāmasottamā, Rājasādhama, Rājasa-madhyamā, Rāja-sottamā, Sāttvikādhama, Sāttvika-madhyamā, Sāttvikottamā and Uttamottamā¹⁰⁴. This Bhakti is repeatedly declared by the Purāṇa to be the only means of salvation.

The title 'Brhannārada' or 'Brhannāradiya' given to the work both in the body of the chapters¹⁰⁵ and the colophons shows that it is not the original Nāradiya P., the words 'brhat', 'vrddha' etc. being found to be prefixed to the titles of comparatively late works only. It should not be held that the Brhannāradiya P. 'is generally so called to distinguish it from the Nārada—or Nāradiya—Upapurāṇa'¹⁰⁶, for, we shall see below, the present Nāradiya P. was composed, or rather compiled, after the Brhannāradiya mainly with the chapters of the latter. That the Brhannāradiya is not

¹⁰¹ No. 931, D. U. Mss Lib. This Ms was brought to my notice by Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Dacca University Mss Library.

¹⁰² Cf. Haraprasad Shastri, Cat. of Sans Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, pp. cxxxv-cxlili. Winternitz, Ind. Lit., I, p. 557. Viśvakoṣa (a Bengali Encyclopaedia), edited by Nagendra Nath Basu, Vol. XI, p. 627.

¹⁰³ The Vaṅga. ed. is generally the same as the ASB ed. Both consist of 98 chapters. There are, of course, occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

¹⁰⁴ Bnār 14, 195-207.

¹⁰⁵ Bnār 1, 36—*purāṇam nāradiyālhyam brhad vedārtha-sammitam*, 1, 66—*. . . . brhannārada-nāmadheyam . . . purāṇam*, and 98, 132—*. . . . brhannārada-samjñitam*.

¹⁰⁶ Winternitz, Ind. Lit., I, p. 557.

the original Nāradiya P. but only an Upapurāṇa, is established by other evidences also. The Matsya (53, 23), the Skanda (VII, 1, 2, 43) and the Agni-p. (272, 8) describe the Nāradiya P. as follows.

“*yatrāha nārado dharmān brhatkalpāśrītān iha|*
pañcaviṃśa (Ag reads *pañcaviṃśat*) *sahasrāṇi nārāḍīyam*
tad ucyate||”

According to this description the Nāradiya P. was declared by the sage Nārada in relation to the Brhat Kalpa. But in the Brhannāradiya, though Nārada is found to speak to Sanatkumāra, there is no mention of the Brhat Kalpa. Moreover, the Brhaddharma-p. (I, 25, 23) includes this Purāṇa among the Upapurāṇas. The references to and quotations from this Purāṇa in the Smṛti-works also show that it was known to them as Brhannāradiya and not as Nāradiya P.

The date of the Brhannāradiya can be ascertained within narrow limits. In the D U. Mss Lib. there is a Ms (No. 1667) of this Purāṇa which is dated 1578 Śaka (= 1656 A.D.). This Ms tallying fully with the printed edition, the Brhannāradiya must be earlier than the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. As Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chaps. 1-6, 11, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37 and 38 in his Haribhaktivilāsa, Govindānanda from chaps. 7, 14 and 25-27 in his Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī, Varsakriyā-kaumudī and Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī, Raghunandana from chaps 7, 14, 22 and 24 in his Smṛti-tattva, and Śūlapāni from chap 16 in his Vratākāla-viveka, the Brhannāradiya can by no means be placed later than 1350 A.D. Further, we shall see below that the present Nāradiya P., in which the chapters of the Brhannāradiya form the main section, was compiled not later than the end of the tenth century A.D. If a period of at least 50 years be allowed to intervene between the dates of the Brhannāradiya and the present Nāradiya, then the date of the former cannot be placed later than 950 A.D. Thus we get the lower limit. Again, in the Brhannāradiya Viṣṇu's Śakti, which permeates the whole world and effects its creation, preservation and destruction¹⁰⁷, is said to be known as Laksmī, Umā, Durgā, Bhārati, Bhadrakālī etc.¹⁰⁸. She is the Prakṛti and the illusion (Māyā) which subjects the creatures to rebirths¹⁰⁹. Such a developed Śakti theory points to a date not earlier than about 550 A.D., for, though in the Jayākhya-samhitā, which is dated about 450 A.D., Laksmī, Jayā, Kīrti and Māyā are called

¹⁰⁷ Bnār 3, 6, 10 and 16

¹⁰⁸ Bnār 3, 9 and 15

¹⁰⁹ Bnār 3, 13 ff.

Viṣṇu's Śakti, they play no part in creation. The reference, in Bnār 2, 44, to the story of Ajāmula's attainment of the highest region by singing the glory of Viṣṇu seems to betray an acquaintance of the author of the Brhannāradiya with the Bhāgavata-p. The doctrine of nonduality (Advaita) and illusion (Māyā), summarily referred to in Bnār 31, 57 ff, shows that the Purāṇa cannot possibly be earlier than Śamkarācārya. Hence the date of composition of the Brhannāradiya falls between 850 and 950 A.D., and it is probable that the Purāṇa was composed sometime about the middle of the 9th century. As there is nothing which goes against the integrity of the Purāṇa, the above date may be taken to be that of the entire work.

The Brhannāradiya, which, on account of its lengthy glorification of the river Ganges and its recognition of Prayāga and Benares as the best of all holy places¹¹⁰, appears to have been written in Northern India, is a work of the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavas. In it the highest deity is Mahāviṣṇu, who becomes Brahmā, the inferior Viṣṇu, and Śiva through the three Gunas—Sattva, Rajas and Tamas respectively¹¹¹, the names used to mean the god of the Bhāgavatas are 'Viṣṇu' and 'Nārāyaṇa', the name 'Kṛṣṇa' being rare; and the sectarian Mantra is 'om namo nārāyaṇāya'. It is tolerant of Śaivism and declares: "The man, who differentiates between Hari, Śamkara and Brahmā, remains in hell as long as the moon and stars exist"¹¹².

Let us now pass on to the Nāradiya P. It is divided into two parts (bhāga)—the former (Pūrva), consisting of 125 chapters, and the latter (Uttara), of 82 chapters. The former part, again, is subdivided into four subsections called Pādas. The lengths of these Pādas are as follows:

(1) first Pāda	chaps. 1-41,
(2) second Pāda	..	.	chaps. 42-62,
(3) third Pāda	chaps. 63-91,
and (4) fourth Pāda	chaps. 92-125.

Though, as usual, the Nāradiya P. is declared by Sūta to the sages, the speakers in the different sections differ; viz., in the four Pādas of the Pūrva-bhāga Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana speak respectively to Nārada, and in the Uttara-bhāga Vasiṣṭha speaks to Māṇdhātṛ.

The present Nāradiya P. is not the earlier Nāradiya noticed by the Matsya, Skanda and Agni. According to these three Purāṇas the Nāradiya was declared by Nārada in relation to the Bṛhat Kalpa.

¹¹⁰ Bnār 6, 9 and 37.

¹¹¹ Bnār 3, 2.

¹¹² Bnār 3, 46.

In the present Nāradiya, however, Nārada is not the speaker but the hearer, and there is no mention of the Brhat Kalpa. The word *brhadupākhyāna*, which is used, abruptly and without any reference to the Brhat Kalpa, in the colophons of the majority of chapters in Nār I, does not occur in the colophons of Nār I, 1-41 which constitute the main part of the work¹¹³. So, this word cannot be used to establish that the present Nāradiya P. is the earlier one. Moreover, Nār I, 1-41 are generally the same as Bnār, chapters 1 to the end, though there are variations in readings and numbers of verses. As regards these common chapters, the Nāradiya P. seems to be the borrower, for this is indicated by the fact that though necessary changes have been made in the borrowed chapters of the Nāradiya P., and the word *brhat* used in the Brhannāradiya (I, 36 and 66) as a prefix to the title of the Purāṇa has been replaced by 'etat' and 'dam' in the corresponding verses (viz, I, 1, 36 and 64) of the Nāradiya P. obviously in order to adapt the chapters of the Brhannāradiya to the title and interlocutor of the Nāradiya, the Purāṇa is still called 'Brhannāradiya' in the colophons of the chapters of all the sections. The occurrence of this word in the colophons shows that inspite of fresh additions and the new title, the people did not forget the real character of the so-called Nāradiya P. As to Nār I, 42-125, it will be seen below that they are comparatively late additions. Though the Uttara-bhāga derives its authority from, and is attached to, the present Nāradiya, it is really an independent work. It is for this reason that this Bhāga differs in general character from Nār I, 1-41 and is sometimes found to appear in Mss as an independent text.

From the above discussion it follows that the present Nāradiya is not the earlier one and that the chapters of the Brhannāradiya were added to by others and given the title 'Nāradiya Purāṇa'. So it is undoubtedly an Upapurāṇa. The title of the work need not be taken to go against its apocryphal character, because Upapurāṇas bearing the titles of Mahāpurāṇas are not very rare in the Purāṇic literature. The Kūrma-p. (I, 1, 18), Garuḍa-p. (I, 227, 19), Devī-bhāgavata (I, 3, 14) and Bhaddharma-p. (I, 25, 23) include a 'Nāradiya P.' among the Upapurāṇas. It is not known whether the present Nāradiya is identical with that mentioned by these Purāṇas.

Let us now proceed to discuss the dates of the different sections of the present Nāradiya P. As Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chaps. 2, 3, 6, 10, 22, 24, 31 and 38 of Nār II in his Haribhakti-

¹¹³ Haraprasad Shastri wrongly says that the word '*brhadupākhyāna*' is found in every colophon. See, Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss. ASB, Vol. V, Preface, p. cxxxv.

vilāsa, Gadādhara from chap 23 of Nār I and chaps 1, 2, 22, and 31 of Nār II in his Kālasāra, Raghunandana from chaps 13, 27 and 30 of Nār I and chaps 1, 2, 22, 24 and 38 of Nār II in his Smṛti-tattva, Govindānanda from chap 28 of Nār I in his Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī, Vācaspatimīśra from chaps 38 and 39 of Nār II in his Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, Madanapāla from chap 2 of Nār II in his Madanapārijāta, Mādhavācārya from chap 7 of Nār I and chaps 7, 23, 27 and 31 of Nār II in his com on the Parāśara-smṛti, Hemādri from chaps 23 and 25 of Nār I and chaps 1-3, 22, 24 and 31 of Nār II in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, and Devanabhatta from chaps. 1, 2, 23, 31 and 37 of Nār II in his Smṛti-candrikā¹¹⁴, and as Gopālabhatta refers to the interlocutions between (1) Mohinī and king Rukmāṅgada and (2) the sage Vāmadeva and Rukmāṅgada in his Hari-bhaktivilāsa (pp 386, 519 and 1034), Hemādri mentions Māmdhātṛ, Vasistha, Mohinī and Rukmāṅgada as speakers in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (Vol II, part ii, pp 772-5 etc) and Devanabhatta mentions Mohinī and Vasistha as speakers in his Smṛti-candrikā (Vol. IV, pp. 65, 68 and 121), it is sure that the first Pāda of the Pūrva-bhāga and the story of king Rukmāṅgada and his wife Mohinī in the Uttara-bhāga (chaps 1-37) were combined under the title 'Nāradiya P.' earlier than 1100 A.D. The verses quoted by the above mentioned Smṛti-writers from the 'Nāradiya P.' and traced in the present Nāradiya prove that these Smṛti-writers, hailing from different parts of India, draw only upon the present apocryphal Nāradiya¹¹⁵, and that the real Nāradiya was generally superseded by the present one even as early as the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. As the attainment of such circulated importance by the present Nāradiya could not be possible in a short time, *the Purāṇa should be dated not later than the end of the tenth century.* The Brhannāradiya being earlier than the present Nāradiya, *the latter cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.*

The above date is not the date of all sections of the Nāradiya P., for chaps. 42-125 of the Pūrva-bhāga and chaps. 38-82 of the Uttara-bhāga bear stamps of comparatively late dates. In the former chapters the interlocutors differ from those of the remaining ones, and there is a breach here in the tone of Bhakti that permeates Nār I, 1-41. There are also traces of a fully developed Rādhā

¹¹⁴ See App.

¹¹⁵ By his statement that he did not draw upon the Nāradiya P because it did not contain any chapter on gift, Ballālasena means most probably the present Nāradiya in which there is no chapter on gifts Cf Dānasāgara, fol. 3b—*bhāgavatam ca purāṇam brahmāṇḍam caiva nāradiyaṃ ca | dāna-vidhi-tūṅgam etat trayam iha na niban(?) dādhām avadhārya||*.

cult In Nār I, 83 Rādhā is called the Mūla-prakṛti. She is described as 'nirgunā', 'nityā', 'sarvādyā', 'tejomandala-madhyasthā', 'drśyādrśya-svarūpīnī' etc., and is said to be inseparably connected with Kṛṣṇa who is called Paramātmān and of whom Nārāyaṇa, Śiva and the other Kṛṣṇa, 'the lord of the Gopikās', are born. The goddesses like Mahālakṣmī, Durgā, Sarasvatī and others are said to be the partial incarnations (amśāvatāra) of Rādhā. In Nār I, 88 the formation of the Tantric Mantras of Rādhā and the Tantric method of her worship have been laid down. The contents of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, as given in Nār I, 92-109, tally fully with those of almost all the present ones. So these chapters could not have been written before these Purāṇas attained practically their present form. The late age of Nār I, 42-125 seems further to be evidenced by the fact that none of the numerous Smṛti-writers has been found to quote even a single line from them. Chapters 38 ff. of the Uttara-bhāga deal with the glories of the river Ganges and the holy places Kāśī, Puruṣottama etc. These chapters are comparatively late additions and are generally derived from other sources. For instance, Nār II, 52-61 have many verses in common with Brahma-p. 28 and 45 ff. Their comparatively late date is further evidenced by the fact that though in Pūrva-bhāga chap 125 (verse 26) the Nāradiya is said to have four Pādas, in Uttara-bhāga chap. 82 (verse 41) it is said to consist of five Pādas. All of the chapters 38-82 of Nār II, however, are not very late additions. The quotations made by Gopālabhatta, Raghunandana and Vācaspatimiśra from chaps. 38 and 39 of Nār II prove that at least chaps. 38-43 on the Ganges are earlier than Vācaspatimiśra.

The result of the above analysis, so far as it relates to the Nāradiya P., is as follows :

Nār I, 1-41	..	C. 875-1000 A.D.
Nār I, 42-125	..	Comparatively late.
Nār II, 1-37	..	C. 875-1000 A.D.
Nār II, 38-82	.	Comparatively late. At least Nār II, 38-43 are earlier than Vācaspatimiśra.

On the evidences of the grammatical tradition, the treatment of the three branches of Jyotisa, and the attribution of the five Kalpas of the Atharva-veda to all the Śākhās of all the Vedas, Haraprasad Shastri brings down the date of the Nāradiya P. to 700-800 A.D.¹¹⁶. We cannot understand why he does not put the date of the Purāṇa lower still, though there is no evidence to push up the lower limit of the date to such an early period as 800 A.D. The only argument

¹¹⁶ Haraprasad Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, pp. cxxxvii-cxxxviii,

he adduces in this regard is the inclusion of Vindu among the Pāśas. He says that as the Nāradiya P., in its description of the Śaiva system of philosophy, admits Vindu as one of the subdivisions of Pāśas or bondages, it is earlier than the Sarvadaśana-samgraha which does not recognise Vindu¹¹⁷. This argument becomes untenable when we consider that many of the chapters 42-125 of the Pūrva-bhāga are either derived from or based on those of other works, and that the contents of chaps. 63-91, which are said to constitute the 'Mahātānttra'¹¹⁸, are the summary of those of the Tantras of different sects¹¹⁹. Therefore the inclusion of Vindu among the Pāśas cannot go against the late date of Nār I, 42-125.

The present Nāradiya is more a compilation than an original work. In many places of the Purāṇa itself¹²⁰ it is called a 'Samhitā' and really so, for many of the chapters are found to tally with those occurring in other works. For example, there are verses common to Nār I, 43 (verses 50 ff) and Padma-p (Svarga-kh.¹²¹) chaps 25 and 26, Nār I, 48 (verses 14 ff) and 49 agree almost literally with Vis II, 13 (verses 13 ff) to 16; many verses are found common to Nār II, 52-61 and Brahma-p. 28 and 45 ff., and so forth.

A good number of verses, quoted by the Smṛti-writers from the Nāradiya P but not found in the present Nāradiya, shows that in the earlier form of the Purāṇa there were many verses which have been lost in the printed edition. The 'Nāradiya P.' drawn upon by Jīmūtavāhana does not seem to be the same as the present Nāradiya because of the facts that none of the 47 lines quoted by him from the 'Nāradiya P.' in his Kālaviveka is traceable in the present Nāradiya, and that the interlocutions between (1) Mārkaṇḍeya and Viṣṇu and (2) Vaiśya and Bhikṣu, which he mentions as having occurred in the 'Nāradiya P.', are not found in the present edition. It is, therefore, highly probable that Jīmūtavāhana used a different recension of the Nāradiya P., if not the earlier or original one.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, pp cxli-cxlii.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *mahātāntre samuddiṣṭam paśupāśa-vimokṣanam*—Nār I, 97, 5; *tripadārtham catuṣpādam mahātānttram pracaksate*—Nār I, 63, 13; *mahātānttram tvayā proktaṃ sarva-tāntrottamottamam*—Nār I, 92, 2.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *tāntroktam vada sarvajña tvām aham śaranam gataḥ*
śaktes tāntṛāṇy anekāni śvoktāni munīṣvara||
yāni tat-sūtram uddhṛtya śākalyenābhidheḥ naḥ||
Nār I, 83, 7-8. Also cf. Nār I, 83, 5 and I, 76, 6.

¹²⁰ Viz., Nār II, 82, verses 34, 35, 40, 44 etc; I, 62, 77 and 79.

¹²¹ Ms No. 1625, D. U. Mss Lib.

6. THE AGNI-PURĀNA. ¹²²

The Matsya and the Skanda p notice the 'Agni-purāna' as follows

"That Purāna which describes the occurrences of the Īśāna-kalpa and was related by Agni to Vasistha is called the Āgneya" ¹²³

But in the present Agni-p, though Agni is found to speak to Vasistha, there is no mention of the Īśāna kalpa. On the other hand, the Vārāha Kalpa has been mentioned in connection with the Tortoise incarnation of Visnu (see Ag 2, 17). This disagreement between the description in the Matsya and the Skanda-p and the contents of the present Agni shows that the latter is not the earlier Agni-p. which was noticed by these two Purānas. This apocryphal character of the present Agni is further evidenced by the verses quoted from the 'Agni-purāna' or 'Āgneya' in the Smṛti-Nibandhas but not found in the present Agni. The express mention of Vasistha and king Ambarīsa as interlocutors¹²⁴, and the occurrence of the words 'kuru-śārdūla', 'vīra', 'rājan', 'nrpa', 'rājendra' etc. in the vocative case in many of the quoted passages¹²⁵, prove that in the original (or rather earlier) Agni-purāna Vasistha spoke to king Ambarīsa at least on the various topics on Dharma. Moreover, in one of the verses quoted from the 'Āgneya-P.' in the Tirtha-cintāmani Sūrya is mentioned as the speaker, and in another Visnu speaks to Gangā (cf. Tirtha-cintāmani, pp 206 and 263). In the present Agni-p., however, there is no interlocution between Vasistha and king Ambarīsa or between Visnu and Gangā, and there is also no chapter in which

¹²² The Vanga ed is chapter by chapter the same as the AnSS ed. There are, of course, occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

¹²³ *yat tad īśanakam kalpam vṛtāntam adhikṛtya ca*
vaśisthāyāgmā proktam āgneyam tat prcaksate||

Mat 53, 28 and Sk VII, 1, 2, 47. The latter reads 'īśāna-kalpasya' in the first line.

In Ag 272, which is an abridgment of Mat 53 and not of Nār I, 92-109 as Haraprasad Shastri holds, the reference to the Īśāna-kalpa has been left out obviously with a view to adapting the description to the present Agni.

¹²⁴ Cf. Dānasāgara, fol. 253a and 96a-97b; and Kṛtya-ratnākara, fol. 189b.

¹²⁵ Cf. Dānasāgara, fol. 96a-97b, 99a-b, 100a-b, etc;

Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, pp. 527 and 978, II, pp. 1136 ff. and so on;

Kṛtya-ratnākara, fol. 189b; Dānakṛyā-kaumudī, p. 57;

Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 752, Smṛti-tattva I, 411 and II, 286;

Kālasāra, pp. 70, 126 and 602; and so on.

Sūrya is the speaker. The above facts, considered together, prove definitely that the present Agni-p is not the earlier one¹²⁶.

From a comparison between the present Agni-p and the verses quoted in the Nibandhas from the earlier Agni we understand that the former is the result of a destructive recast to which the latter was subjected. How in this recast the form of the older Purāṇa was changed is best exemplified by a comparison between a long passage, or rather an entire chapter, quoted from the 'Agni-p.' in the Dānasāgara (fol 96a-97b) and chap 210 of the present Agni. In the quoted passage Vāśistha is found to speak to the king (Ambarisa) on Gudadhenu-dāna (gift of a cow made of raw sugar), but in the said chapter of the present Agni, though all the marks proving the interlocution between Vāśistha and the king have been eliminated, many verses have been retained; viz., Ag 210, verses 13b-17a, 19-21, 22b, 23 and 25-29a tally with some of the verses quoted in the Dānasāgara (fol 96a-97b). The above comparison further shows that the present Agni-p is not a new work from beginning to end but has retained fragments of chapters and isolated verses from the earlier Purāṇa. It is for this reason that a few of the numerous quoted verses are found in the present Agni with variations in readings and arrangement of lines.

The present Agni-p, though an apocryphal and comparatively late work, does not seem to have come down to us quite unadulterated. *There are evidences to show that some of its chapters, viz., 21-106, 263-272 and 317-326, are in all probability later interpolations.* In Ag 1 the essence of all knowledge (vidyā-sāra) is proposed to be given. This knowledge is divided into two classes—Parā and Aparā. The Parā Vidyā is that with which the supreme Brahma is attained, and the Aparā Vidyā consists of the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas (Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandas and Jyotisa), Abhidhāna, Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Nyāya, Vaidyaka, Gāndharva, Dhanurveda and Arthaśāstra. It is to be noticed that in the above enumeration there is mention neither of the Pāñcarātra Samhitās, of which, as we shall see below, some of the interpolated chapters of the present Agni-p. seem to be summaries, nor of the methods of the worship of different gods dealt with in these chapters. Again, in chap. 20 Agni speaks of the nine kinds of creation, refers to the story of Satī's birth as the daughter of Himālaya, and ends with the verse

‘ṛṣibhyo nārādādyuktāḥ pūjāḥ snānādi-pūrvikāḥ|
svāyambhuvādyās tāḥ kṛtvā viṣṇvāder bhukti-muktidāḥ||’

¹²⁶ Dr. S. K. De also expressly calls it 'apocryphal'. See De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol I, p 102.

This verse, which serves as an introduction to chaps. 21-106 on the Tantric worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and Gaurī, is so irrelevant and abrupt that it proves the spurious character of these chapters. Their comparatively late date is further established by the fact that though in chaps 12-15 Kṛṣṇa is the eighth of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, in chap. 49 (verse 6) it is Haladhara who occupies his place. From the lists of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu we know that the substitution of Kṛṣṇa by Haladhara is of much later date. Of these interpolated chapters (21-106), the first 49 (i.e., chaps 21-70 on Viṣṇu-worship, Viṣṇu-dīkṣā, installation of the images of Viṣṇu, and so forth) are most probably summaries of one or more of the Pāñcarātra Samhitās, for some of the verses quoted in Gopālabhatta's Haribhaktivilāsa from the Hayaśīrṣa-pāñcarātra have their parallels in Ag 39-70 ascribed to Hayagrīva. For example, Ag 41, 3 (*istakāś ca supakvāḥ syuh*) resembles the quotation from the Hayaśīrṣa-pāñcarātra in Haribhaktivilāsa, p 1315. Ag 71-106 (on Pañcāyatana-pūjā), again, seem to be later than Ag 21-70. The last verse

skandāyeśo yathā prāha pratisthādyaṃ tathā śṛnu |
sūryeśa-gana-śaktyādeh parivūṇasya vai haneh||

of chap. 70, that introduces chaps. 71-106 declared by Īśvara (i.e., Śiva), is also abrupt and irrelevant. This introductory verse being ascribed to Hayagrīva, *it is highly probable that chaps. 71-106 are later than chaps. 21-70.* In Ag 259, 1 Agni proposes to report what Puskara said to Rāma on 'rg-yajuh-sāmātharva-vidhāna'. Consequently chaps. 259 (verses 2 ff.) to 262, ascribed to Puskara, deal with Ṛg-, Yajuh-, Sāma- and Atharva-vidhāna. But the speaker is found to speak further on omens, worship, bath etc., almost all of which are imbued with Tantric elements. This continued portion (i.e., chaps. 263-272) of Puskara's speech is most probably spurious. The word *bhūyah* in the line '*bhūyah skandāya yān āha mantrān īśāś ca tān vade*' (Ag 316, 5) which introduces chaps. 317-326 ascribed to Īśvara, presupposes chaps. 71-106 in which Īśvara speaks to Skanda. Therefore, *at least chaps. 317-326 cannot be earlier than chaps. 71-106.* Among the remaining chapters there may be some which are spurious, but it is almost impossible to detect them.

From the first chapter of the present Agni we understand that the compiler of this Purāṇa had the deliberate intention of making the work a sort of a cyclopaedia in miniature. With this end in view he summarised the contents of some works, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Harivamśa, the section on Gayā-māhātmya in the Vāyu-p., the Sūtras of Pingala with a

commentary, the Amarakośa¹²⁷, the Yuddha-jayārṇava¹²⁸, the Hastyāyurveda of Pālākāpya, etc., and incorporated verses or entire chapters of other works, viz, the Nāṇada-smṛti¹²⁹, the Yājñiavalkya-smṛti and the Viṣṇu-p¹³⁰. Hence it can be little doubted that the chapters on the different branches of learning belonged to the present Agni-p in its earliest form, and that they were put together to constitute the Purāṇa at the same time. That of these chapters at least those on Bhuvana kosa, Yoga and Brahma-jñāna are contemporaneous, is further established by Ag 107, 12b-13a (*bharate datta-lakṣmīkaḥ śālagrāme harim gataḥ | sa yogī yoga-prastāve vaksye taccantam punaḥ ||*) containing an unmistakable reference to chap 380 wherein the story of Bharata is given in connection with Yoga and the knowledge of Brahma. From all these we can safely hold that the date of compilation of the present Agni is the same as that of the summaries and incorporations. Now, in course of enumerating those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which he rejected as compiled, unauthoritative or influenced by Tantricism, Ballālasena names in his Dānasāgara a few spurious Purāṇas including the 'Āgneya' and the 'Tārksya' and enumerates their contents which agree remarkably with those of the present Agni and Garuḍa¹³¹. So the present Agni, in which the great majority of the numerous verses quoted in the Dānasāgara from

¹²⁷ Haraprasad Shastri, Cat of Sans Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, pp cxlvii-cxlviii and cl. Wilson, Essays, Vol I, pp 89-90

¹²⁸ Ag 123-149 are certainly the summary of the Yuddha-jayārṇava—a work drawn upon by Narapati (the author of the Svarodaya), Raghunandana and others, because we have found that some of the lines quoted from the Yuddha-jayārṇava in the Smṛti-tattva resemble some lines in the above mentioned chapters of the Agni-p. For instance, the line 'yasmīnnrkse sthito bhānuḥ tadāda trīṇi mastake' quoted from the Yuddha-jayārṇava in Smṛti-tattva I, p 642 may be compared with Ag 126, 1b—'yasmīnnrkse bhavet sūryas tadāda trīṇi mūrdhani'. Moreover, in Ag 123, 1 Agni proposes to give the substance of the Yuddha-jayārṇava (*vaksye . . . sūram yuddha-jayārṇave*). This substance, however, does not seem to be very true to the original but appears to have innovations.

¹²⁹ Kane, Hist of Dhs, Vol. I, p. 173

¹³⁰ Ag 380 has numerous verses in common with Vis II, 13, verses 13 ff

¹³¹ Dānasāgara, fol. 3b-4a—

*tārksyam purāṇam aparaṁ brāhmaṇam āgneyam eva ca |
trayovimśati-sāhasryam purāṇam api vaiṣṇavam ||
sat-sāhasra-mitam lingam purāṇam aparaṁ tathā |
dikṣā-pratisthā-pāṣaṇḍa-mukti-ratna-parikṣanaiḥ ||
mrṣā-vamśānucaritaiḥ kosa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ |
asaṅgata-kathā-bandha-paraspara-virodhitaiḥ ||
tan mīna-ketanādīnāṁ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-linginām |
loka-vañcanam ālokyā sarvaṁ evāvar(?) dhīritam ||*

an 'Agni-p.' is not traceable, must be the same as Ballālasena's spurious 'Āgneya' and consequently be earlier than 1100 A.D. P. V. Kane compares the text of the Vyavahāra section of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti found in the Agni-p (chap 253, verse 32 to chap. 258) with those used by the commentators Viśvarūpa and Vijñāneśvara and comes to the conclusion 'that the text of Yāj preserved in the Agni-purāṇa is intermediate between the text of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā' He further adds. "As Viśvarūpa flourished about 800-825 A.D., the Agni-purāṇa represents a text of Yāj current somewhat later, i.e., about 900 A.D." ¹³² As to the Alamkāra-section of the Agni, Kane is of opinion that as the extant Agni quotes Dandin and Bhāmaha and knew the theory of Dhvani, it was composed about 900 A.D. ¹³³ S. K. De differs from Kane and assigns this section to the beginning of the ninth century A.D. ¹³⁴ In spite of these differences of opinions, there can be no serious objection if we hold that *the present Agni-p. was compiled some time during the ninth century* ¹³⁵. Haraprasad Shastri also places the date of the Purāṇa between 800 and 900 A.D. ¹³⁶ This general date seems to be supported by other evidences also. Tantricism in the sections on astronomy and medicine, which have been mentioned among the different branches of the Aparā Vidyā, shows that the date of the Agni-p. cannot possibly be earlier than 800 A.D., because from an examination of the Matsya, Varāha

It is to be noted that though Ballālasena expressly says that he rejected the 'Tārkṣya', 'Brāhma', 'Āgneya', 'Vaiṣṇava' and 'Linga' as spurious and deceptive, he draws considerably upon a Brahma-, an Agni- and a Viṣṇu-purāṇa in his Dānasāgara and includes them in the list of the Purāṇas used in writing the digest (see Dānasāgara, fol 2a). So, it is sure that he knew another set of Purāṇas which he considered genuine. The word *apara* used in the above verses is important in this connection.

¹³² Kane, Hist. of Dhs, Vol I, p 172.

¹³³ Kane, History of Sanskrit Poetics, pp. II-V, and Hist of Dhs, Vol I, p 172

¹³⁴ S. K De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol I, p 104 Also see De in JRAS, 1923 (Part IV, October), pp. 537-549.

¹³⁵ In IHQ Vol. X, 1934, pp 767 ff. an attempt has been made by V Rāghavan to prove the indebtedness of the Alamkāra-section of the Agni-p to the works of Bhoja and thus to assign the Purāṇa to a post-Bhoja date. But this date cannot be finally accepted until further and more definite proofs have been adduced in its favour.

See also Poona Orientalists, Vol. II, April, 1937, pp. 15-17 for S. K. De's notes on V. Rāghavan's views.

Wilson's view that the present Agni is probably to be placed anterior to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., hardly deserves any attention. See, Wilson, Essays, Vol I, p 90.

¹³⁶ Haraprasad Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss. ASB, Vol V, Preface, p. cli.

and other Purāṇas we understand that the Tantric elements began to be absorbed appreciably by the Purāṇas not earlier than about 800 A.D. Agam, the majority of the verses quoted by Govindānanda in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* (but not in his other works) from the Agni-p are found in the present Agni (see App). Moreover, the verses on Gudadhenu-dāna quoted in the *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* (pp 58-61), though agreeing remarkably with Ag 210, 10b-31a, differ from the passage on the same topic quoted in Ballālasena's *Dāna-sāgara* (fol. 96a-97b). It is, therefore, sure that at least the verses on Gudadhenu-dāna, from which Vasistha and Ambariṣa have been eliminated, were taken by Govindānanda from the present Agni. Hence the present Agni must be dated not later than 1500 AD. According to Haraprasad Shastri 'the eight chapters on Prosody in the Agni-p. is the summary of the Sūtras of Pīṅgala with a commentary. That commentary is controverted by Halāyudha in the second half of the tenth century without naming its author. So the Agni would come some considerable time before Halāyudha. Had Halāyudha's commentary been known to the author he would certainly have given the summary of this most popular commentary and not an obscure predecessor of it¹³⁷'.

The present Agni is originally a work of the Pāñcarātras. It proposes to deal with Brahma which is identified with Viṣṇu (cf. Ag 1, 9-11). It is for this reason that Viṣṇu's incarnations are narrated at the very outset. In other non-spurious chapters also it is Viṣṇu who is identified with Brahma and whose worship is preached. As examples, the chapters on Yoga and Brahma-vijñāna may be referred to. The Purāṇa has sometimes been taken to be a manual of the Bhāgavata priests¹³⁸. But such a character cannot be attributed to the *present* Purāṇa in its original form, because the Bhāgavata characteristics are found only in those chapters which, we have seen, are in all probability later additions.

It is difficult to say where the present Agni was first compiled. The view of Haraprasad Shastri that it was compiled in Bengal or Behar is based on evidences contained in those chapters of the Purāṇa which appear to be spurious.

Besides the extant Agni-p., Mss have been found of another work called 'Vahni-purāṇa'¹³⁹. This Vahni-purāṇa, which is quite different from the present Agni, contains no mention of the Īśāna-kalpa or of the interlocution between Agni and Vasiṣṭha. Though it contains an interlocution between 'Deva and Ambariṣa¹⁴⁰', there

¹³⁷ Haraprasad Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, p. cl.

¹³⁸ Farquhar, Outline, p. 179.

¹³⁹ Eggeling, India Office Catalogue, Part VI, pp. 1294 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 1295.

is none between Vasiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa as in the Agni drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers. Therefore, it is certainly not the earlier Agni which was known to these authors, though it seems to have been based on the latter. Whether it is the same as the 'Vahni-purāṇa' drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers like Devanabhāṭṭa, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Gopālabhāṭṭa and Gadādhara, cannot be asserted until the quoted verses have been traced in it. That sometimes the 'Agni-purāṇa' was confused with the 'Vahni-purāṇa' is shown by the reading '*Agni-purāṇa*' in one Ms of Mādhavācārya's com on the Parāśara-smṛti for '*Vahni-purāṇa*' in others¹⁴¹. But such rare variations should not be made the basis of the statement that it was the real Agni which was also called 'Vahni-purāṇa'.

In this connection a few words regarding the contents of the earlier Agni-purāṇa may be said here on the basis of the quotations made from it in the Nibandhas. These quotations show that the Purāṇa dealt, among other topics, with Adbhuta-śānti (see Adbhs.), different kinds of gifts (see Dānasāgara), dedication of tanks and gardens, impurity due to births and deaths, funeral sacrifices, penances, fasts and worships on different Tithis, bathing and worship of Viṣṇu, selection and worship of Śālagrāma, and bath in the Ganges. Regarding the stories occurring in it Ballālasena's Adbhutāsāgara and Gopālabhāṭṭa's Haribhaktivilāsa supply us with valuable information not only by quoting verses from the 'Agni-p.' or 'Āgneya' but also by referring to the topics or stories contained in the chapters from which the verses were drawn. From these quotations and references we understand that the Purāṇa contained a long story of Vāmanotpatti and Hiranyakaśipu-vadha dealt with most probably in more chapters than one¹⁴². It also contained the long story of the Rāmāyana, because there is mention of the blind sage's 'lament for his son killed by Daśaratha'¹⁴³, of Rāvana's fight with Indra and the latter's defeat¹⁴⁴, and of Trijaṭā's detailed dream about the fate of Rāvana and his capital¹⁴⁵. The quoted verses further show that the chapter or chapters dealing with Hiranyakaśipu-vadha had a large number of verses, if not all, in common with Mat 161-3, Pd (Srṣṭi-kh.) 42 and Hv III, 41-47¹⁴⁶, and that the section on Trijaṭā-svapna had many verses in common with the Rāmāyaṇa¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴¹ See Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, Vol I, Part i, p 178.

¹⁴² See Adbhs, p 708; and pp 19, 50, 320 etc.

¹⁴³ See Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 943—*agnipurāṇe daśaratha-hata-putra-vipralāpe* etc.

¹⁴⁴ Adbhs, pp. 23, 657 etc.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 500, 501 etc.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 50-51, 320, 378, 412 etc.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 512, 513 etc.

7. THE GARUDA-PURĀṆA. ¹⁴⁸

The title of the present Garuda-purāṇa is due to the story that Garuda once worshipped Viṣṇu and received a boon from the latter that he would become the author of a Purāṇa-samhitā. Consequently, Garuda spoke out the Garuda-purāṇa to Kaśyapa. Viṣṇu then imparted it to Rudra, Brahmā and other gods; Brahmā to Vyāsa, Dakṣa and others; Vyāsa to Sūta; and Sūta to the sages Śaunaka and others in the Naimiṣa forest (see Gd I, 2).

This Purāṇa, which consists of two Khandas—Pūrva and Uttara, is a work of cyclopaedic character containing almost everything of general interest. Thus in the Pūrva-khanda there are chapters on almost all the five themes of the Purāṇa as well as on astronomy, astrology, testing of gems (ratna-parīkṣā), omens and portents, chiromancy, medicine, metrics, grammar, politics (nīti), various Smṛti-topics, details of the worship of different deities, vows (vrata), initiation, holy places, Yoga, knowledge of the supreme Brahma, and the stories of the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa. The Uttara-khanda is a voluminous but quite unsystematic work and 'treats of everything connected with death, the dead and the beyond. In motley confusion and with many repetitions, we find doctrines on the fate of the soul after death, Karma, rebirth and release from birth, on desire as the cause of Saṃsāra, on omens of death, the path of Yama, the fate of the Pretas ----, the torments of the hells, and the Pretas as causing evil omens and dreams'. Of these two Khandas the first consists mainly of the

¹⁴⁸ Jivānanda Vidyāśāgara's ed. of the Gd differs much from the Vāṅga. ed. The corresponding chapters in the Pūrva-khandas of the two editions are the following:

Jivānanda's ed	Vāṅga ed	Jivānanda's ed	Vāṅga ed
I, 1-132 = I, 1-132 respectively;		I, 192-204 = I, 193-210 respectively;	
133 = 133-134;		205-221 = 217-233 respectively;	
134 = 135,		222 = 234-235;	
135 = 136-139;		223-228 = 236-241 respectively;	
136-191 = 140-195 respectively;		229 = 242-243.	

Chaps. 196-197 and 211-216 of the Vāṅga ed. are not found in Jivānanda's ed. There are also numerous variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters. The Uttara-khanda of this Purāṇa varies so hopelessly in the two editions that it is impossible to note the variations here.

The difference between the Vāṅga. and Venk. editions is also not negligible; for Gd I, 235 (on the glories of Viṣṇu) of the Vāṅga ed. is not found in the Venk. ed., and Gd I, 239-240 (on Brahma-gītā) of the latter ed. are not found in the former. As regards the remaining chapters of the Pūrva-khandas in the two editions, there are occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses.

The differences between the Uttara-khandas in the two editions are too numerous to be noted here.

incorporation of entire chapters and isolated verses of some of the standard works on the different branches of learning. It also gives summaries of some other works. Of these different sources used by the Garuda-p some have already been pointed out by scholars. These are the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Manu-smṛti, Parāśara-smṛti, Brhatsamhitā, Kalāpa Vyākaraṇa with Kātyāyana's additional chapter on verbal derivations, Astāngahrdaya-samhitā of Vagbhata II, Aśva-cikitsā of Nakula, and Cānakya-nājanīśāstra of Bhoja¹⁴⁹. Besides these, the Garuda-p is found to have chapters and verses in common with other Purāṇas also, viz,

Gd I, 1, 14-31a, in which the 21 incarnations of Vāsudeva have been enumerated, agree almost literally with Bhāg I, 3, 6-26a; Gd I, 49, 2-30, I, 50, 1-79 (except 50a and 66b) and I, 51, 1 to the end are all found in Kūr I, 2, II, 18 and II, 26 respectively; Gd I, 50, 81-82 = Kūr II, 23, 1 and 13; Gd I, 51, 3 = Kūr II, 25, 2; Gd I, 52 (except 2b) = Kūr II, 30 and 32-33; Gd I, 227, 14-20 = Kūr I, 1, 12-20, a few verses are common to Gd I, 82-86 and Vā 105 ff. (on Gayā-māhātmya); Gd I, 88-90 = Mārka 95-98.

That as regards these common portions the Garuda is the borrower can be little doubted. Its late origin, its careless omission of numerous verses from the incorporated chapters, and its summarization of chapters which come from early dates—all go against its originality.

The contents of the present Garuda do not conform to the description of the 'Gāruda' given in the Matsya, the Skanda and the Agni-purāṇa, according to which the Garuda-p. was declared by Kṛṣṇa (or Viṣṇu according to the Agni) in connection with the origin of Garuda from the cosmic egg (viśvāṇḍa) in the Gāruda Kalpa¹⁵⁰. In the extant Garuda, though Viṣṇu is the narrator, there is no mention of the Gāruda Kalpa or of the origin of Garuda from the cosmic egg. This disagreement, and the absence of the verses quoted by the early authors like Ānandatīrtha Madhva,

¹⁴⁹ IHQ, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 555-558. Haraprasad Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss., ASB, Vol. V, Preface, pp. cxcii-cxciii. Kane, Hist. of Dh., Vol. I, pp. 175 and 191.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Yādā ca gārūḍe kalpe viśvāṇḍād garudodbhavam*
adhikṛtyābravīt kṛṣṇo gārudaṃ tad ihocyate||

Mat 53, 52 and Sk VII, i, 2, 72. The latter reads 'vā' for 'ca' and 'garudo bhavat' for 'garudodbhavam' in the first line.

gārudaṃ cāṣṭasāhasraṃ viṣṇukṛtāṃ tārksya-kalpake
viśvāṇḍād garuḍotpattiṃ tad dadyāddhema-hamsavat||

Ag 272, 21b-22a.

Devanabhaṭṭa, Hemādri¹⁵¹, Mādhavācārya and Śūlapāṇi, show that the present Garuda is not the earlier one noticed by the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-purāṇa and drawn upon by the said authors.

The date of the extant Garuda can be ascertained within narrow limits. Rūpa Gosvāmin, a disciple of Caitanya of Navadvīpa, quotes a verse from Gd I, 232 in his Haribhaktirasāmrtasindhu; Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes a good number of verses from Gd I, 66, 221, 231, 232, 235 and 239 in his Haribhaktivilāsa; Gadādhara from Gd I, 52, 127 and 133 in his Kālasāra; Govindānanda from Gd I, 31, 84 (Gayā-māhātmya), 123-125, 127-129, 131, 140, 217, 222 and 224 in his Varsakriyā-kaumudī, Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī and Śāddhikriyā-kaumudī, Raghunandana from Gd I, 68 (ratna-parīkṣā) 110 (nīti-sāra), 124, 129, 131, 133, 172 (Āyurveda), 173 (Āyurveda), 217 and 221 in his Smṛti-tattva, and Vācaspatimīśra from Gd I, 82 (Gayā-māhātmya) and 84 (Gayā-māhātmya) in his Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi (see App). These quotations show that the present Garuda-p. came into being earlier than 1400 A.D. In his Dūnasāgara Ballālasena mentions a spurious 'Tāksya' (i.e., Gāruda) Purāṇa which, as the enumeration of its contents shows, is the same as our present Garuda. So, our Garuda-p. must be earlier than 1100 A.D.¹⁵² Kane compares the text of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti preserved in the Garuda-p. with those used by Viśvarūpa and Vijñāneśvara and comes to the conclusion that 'the Garuda-purāṇa represents a stage intermediate between Viśvarūpa and Vijñāneśvara'¹⁵³. Therefore the date of the Garuda-p. falls between 800 and 1000 A.D. Again, as the Garuda has verses from those portions of the Kūrma-p. which were added by the Pāsupatas between 700 and 800 A.D., and as Vagbhata II, the author of the Astāngahrdaya-saṃhitā, lived between the 8th and 9th centuries A.D.¹⁵⁴, the Garuda-p.

¹⁵¹ Numerous extracts, large and small, have been quoted from a 'Gāruda-p' or 'Garuda-p' on the classification of gifts, limitations on the acceptance of gifts, proper time and place for making gifts, erection of a pandal for the purpose, different varieties of gifts (viz, Tulāpurusa-dāna, Suvarṇa-vṛṣa-dāna, Rūpya-vṛṣa-dāna, Vidyā-dāna, Veda-dāna, Śvetāśva-dāna, Gaja-dāna, Ratha-dāna, Kanyā-dāna, etc. etc), praise of 'tapas' which is practised through Vratas, results of Vratas, different kinds of Vratas (viz, Vidyā-pratipad-vrata, Vidyā-vrata, Śānti-vrata, Saubhāgya-vrata, Śrīpāñcamī-vrata, Sudarśana-saṣṭhī-vrata, Maṅgalya-vrata, Narasiṃha-vrata, Gopāla-navamī-vrata, Ārogya-vrata, Gāyatri-vrata, Āyur-vrata and Kāñcanapuri-vrata), funeral sacrifices, Ekādaśī and Dvādaśī, and in some of these extracts Sanatkumāra is mentioned as speaking to a king (addressed as 'pārthiva', 'rājan' etc., cf. Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi I, pp 215, 489-491, etc.) or to Bharadvāja (cf. Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, 1, pp 338-341, 386-9, 465-471 etc; II, ii, pp. 62-3, 227-9, etc.).

¹⁵² See Dūnasāgara, fol 3b-4a. See also footnote 131 under Agni-p.

¹⁵³ Kane, Hist. of Dhs., Vol. I, p. 175.

¹⁵⁴ Hoernle, Medicine of Ancient India, Part 1, pp 11-13. JRAS, 1909, p 882.

cannot be earlier than about the middle of the 9th century. *It is, therefore, highly probable that the extant Garuḍa was compiled between 850 and 1000 A D. A comparison between the Garuḍa and the extant Agni tends to show that the former was modelled on the latter. So the Garuḍa-p. should be dated in the 10th century A D.* This date is not, however, applicable to all the chapters of the Garuḍa. *The Uttara-khanda, in spite of its having Viṣṇu and Garuḍa as interlocutors, is undoubtedly a later addition.* It is a distinct work by itself, having a fresh beginning. In the enumeration of contents given in Gd I, 3 there is no mention of the topics dealt with in the Uttara-khanda. Moreover, no Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon this Khanda. In the Hari-bhaktivilāsa (p. 940) there is mention of an interlocution between the Bhagavat and Garuḍa, but the verse, which is ascribed to them, is not found in the Uttara-khanda. The other verses also¹⁵⁵, in which Garuḍa has been addressed as 'khaga', 'paksīndra' etc., are not found in this Khanda. Hence the spurious character of this Khanda is undeniable. Besides this Khanda, *there are chapters in the Pūrva-khanda which appear to be spurious. These are especially chapters 146-149 and 202.* Of these, the former deal with the incarnations of Viṣṇu and, in connection with them, narrate the stories of the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and Harivamśa, none of which has been referred to in the synopsis of contents given in Gd I, 3. The number of incarnations named in these chapters is only ten, and 'Vāmana' is replaced by 'Dhanvantari' which is assigned the third place. This number is in entire disagreement with that given in chap. 1, wherein 21 incarnations are named and which was certainly not added later. Again, in chap. 202 the number of Viṣṇu's incarnations named is seventeen, and among them there are four names, viz., Rāma, Hayagrīva, Makaradhvaja and Nāga, which are not found in chap. 1. These varying lists of incarnations cannot be ascribed to one hand. Hence the chapters under discussion cannot but be spurious. Besides these chapters, there are possibly others which are spurious, but it is very difficult to detect them.

The extant Garuḍa-p., though a comparatively late work, does not seem to have come down to us in its original form. Many chapters and verses, which once occurred in this apocryphal Garuḍa, are not found in it at present. In the synopsis of contents in Gd I, 3, there is mention of 'Vyavahāra', but in the present form of the Purāṇa there is no chapter on this topic. This

¹⁵⁵ Viz., those in Madana-pārijāta, pp. 302-303; Smṛti-tattva I, 147; Hari-bhaktivilāsa, pp. 333, 334, 362, 460, 465 etc.

Vyavahāra-section, which is now missing, was taken most probably from the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, because, though the Garuda appropriates a large number of sections from the first and third chapters of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the chapter on Vyavahāra is remarkably absent from the Purāṇa. The Haribhaktivilāsa mentions the interlocutions between (1) Nārada and king Dhundhumāra¹⁵⁶, (2) Śuka and king Ambarīsa¹⁵⁷, and (3) Nārada and Indra¹⁵⁸. The occasional occurrence of the words *narādhipa*, *viśāmpati* etc. in the vocative case¹⁵⁹ in the verses quoted by other Nibandha-writers also shows that the above mentioned interlocutions were not unknown to them. None of these interlocutions is, however, found in the present Garuda. Besides these, a large number of verses quoted by those Nibandhakāras who used the apocryphal Garuda, is not found in our present Garuda.

The extant Garuda is avowedly a Vaisnava Purāṇa. It was compiled with a view to glorifying Viṣṇu and preaching his worship¹⁶⁰. It is for this reason that in numerous places in the Purāṇa Viṣṇu, and not any other god, is identified with the supreme Brahma, and more attention is paid to his worship. The methods of the worship of Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya also are found in this Purāṇa, but these deities are never given so much importance as Viṣṇu. On the other hand, they are said to be Viṣṇu's attendant deities¹⁶¹. It is perhaps for this reason that the details of their worship have been included in this Purāṇa.

From the evidences given by the Purāṇas¹⁶² and the Nibandha-writers we understand that the Garuda-p. was also sometimes called 'Tārksya', 'Vainateya' or 'Sauparna'. Among the Mahāpurāṇas mentioned in the Dānasāgara we find the name 'Tārksya' and not 'Garuda'. The quotations made by the Nibandha-writers under the names 'Tārksya', 'Vainateya' and 'Sauparna' are not, however, found in the extant Garuda.

8. THE BRAHMA-PURĀṆA. ¹⁶³

It is a general belief that the present Brahma-p is the original one, the peculiarity being that it has suffered through additions

¹⁵⁶ Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 322. ¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 678. ¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 882.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, Smṛti-tattva I, p. 148 and II, pp. 567-569.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Gd I, 1, 11a—*purāṇam gārudaṁ vakṣye sūram viṣṇu-kathāśrayam*.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Gd I, 6, 70—*sūryādi-parivāreṇa manvādyaḥ iṣṭe harim*'. This line is introductory to chaps. 7 ff. on the worship of Śiva, Durgā and others.

¹⁶² Cf. Bhāg XII, 13, 8 and Vā 104, 8.

¹⁶³ The AnSS ed. is chapter by chapter the same as the Vāṅga ed. There are occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding-chapters, but these variations are not many and important for our purpose.

and losses. This belief is at the base of almost all statements that have been made so long by scholars about its date and authoritativeness. From an examination of the Purāṇas and the Smṛti-Nibandhas, however, it has been found that the present Brahma-p. is not the original one but is merely an Upapurāṇa of the same title and that it was known as such even as late as in the sixteenth century A.D., if not later.

Almost all the Nibandha-writers have profusely drawn upon the 'Brahma-p' or 'Brāhma' which was, therefore, one of the most authoritative works in the whole range of Purāṇic literature. But, curiously enough, not a single of the numerous quotations made by Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Haradatta (the commentator of the Gautama-dharmasūtra), Anuuddhabhatta, Ballālasena, Devanabhatta, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Madanapāla, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, Candēśvara, Rudradhara and many others, is traceable in the present Brahma-p. This is significant and undoubtedly goes against the authenticity of this Purāṇa. Definite information, however, about the apocryphal character of the present Brahma is supplied to us by Narasimha Vājapeyin, a Nibandha-writer of Orissa. Speaking on the authenticity of the two Purāṇas entitled 'Brahma-purāṇa', he says in his Nityācārapradīpa (p. 19):

*"brahmapurāṇam ca kalpatarau yad-vākyaṇy ādrtāṃ,
tad-vyatiriktaṃ brahmapurāṇam purusottama-māhātmyopa-
brmhitam hemādryādinibandha-parigrhitam śiṣṭa-parigrahād
eva pramāṇam, tad apy upapurāṇāntargatam eva".*

Thus he clearly distinguishes between the two Brahma-purāṇas—one, a Mahāpurāṇa, and the other, an Upapurāṇa. His definite mention of the Purusottama-māhātmya as occurring in the Upapurāṇa proves the apocryphal character of the extant Brahma-p., in which there are chapters on this Māhātmya. Its apocryphal character is further established by the fact that though Narasimha Vājapeyin was certainly acquainted with the present Brahma-p., none of the numerous quotations made by him from the 'Brahma-purāṇa' in his Nityācārapradīpa is traceable in it. It cannot be argued that the Smṛti-chapters of the present apocryphal Brahma-p. date from a time later than that of the Nibandha-writer, because there is a Ms (No. 2337) of this Purāṇa in the D. U. Mss Lib. which is dated 1616 Śaka (= 1694 A.D.) and which tallies almost literally with the present editions. The evidences of the Purāṇas also go against the authenticity of the present Brahma. According to the Matsya, the Skanda and the Agni-purāṇa Brahmā and Marīci are the interlocutors in the original (or rather earlier)

Brahma-p.¹⁶⁴, but in the present Brahma we find Brahmā and Dakṣa. All these facts establish the apocryphal character of the present Brahma-p. The title of the work should not be taken as a point in favour of its authenticity. The lists of Upapurāṇas contained in some of the Mahāpurāṇas show that there were Upapurāṇas bearing the titles of Mahāpurāṇas. For example, Kūr I, 1, 17-20 name the Skanda, Vāmana, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradya Upapurāṇas.

Though the present apocryphal Brahma-p is a voluminous work, there is little which it can claim as its own. It is a late conglomeration of chapters mainly borrowed from other sources such as the Viṣṇu-p., Mārkaṇḍeya-p., Vāyu-p., Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa, as the following list will show.

Br 1 (verses 21-30)	=	Viṣ I, 2, 1-8.
„ 1 (verses 31 to the end)	=	Hv I, 1, 19 to the end.
„ 2-5	=	„ I, 2-7.
„ 6-8	=	„ I, 9-15.
„ 9	=	„ I, 25.
„ 10	=	„ I, 26 (verses 1-11 and 48-49); and
		„ I, 27.
„ 11-17	=	„ I, 28-39.
„ 18 (except verses 1-6);	}	= Vis II, 2-7 and 9.
„ 19-24		
„ 27 (verses 10 to the end)	}	= Mār 57 (except verses 1b, 50-52a and 64b).
„ 39-40		
		= Vā 30 (verses 79 to the end).

Brahma-p. 70, 12 to chap. 175 deal with Gautamī-māhātmya which constituted an independent work by itself.

Br 179 (except verses 1-10 and 66-75)	=	Hv I, 40, 8 to the end (except verses 41b-43a, 46b, 56a, 64 and 66a).
„ 180, 1-5 (except 3a)	=	Mār 4, 36-40a.

¹⁶⁴ *brahmaṇābhikṛtaṃ pūrvam yāvanmātraṃ maricaye|
brāhmaṇaṃ tridaśasāhasraṃ purāṇaṃ parikīrtiyate|*

Mat 53, 12b-13a; and Sk VII, i, 2, 28. Sk reads 'tad daśasāhasram' for 'tridaśa-sāhasram', and 'tad ihocyate' for 'parikīrtiyate' in the second line. Ag 272, 1 agrees with the Matsya in the first line but differs in the second, which runs as follows:

lakṣārdhārdhaṃ tu tad brāhmaṇaṃ likhitaṃ saṃpradāpayet'.

Br 180, 6-13	= Viṣ I, 2, 1-8.
„ 180, 14 to the end (except 29-38 and 42a)	= Mārķ 4, 40b to the end.
„ 181 (5 ff)—212	= Vis V, 1 to the end (except V, 1, 1-11).
„ 213, 3-9	= Hv I, 40, 1-7.
„ 213, 10 to the end (except 21b- 22a, 131a, 164 and 171)	= „ I, 41 (except 12b-c, 15b-19, 21a, 22b, 28c, 49b, 55, 58a, 59, 83a, 111b, 133, 151b, 161-163, and 165- 169).

Br 217 has many verses in common with Mārķ 15.

Br 220, 22-29	= Mārķ 32, 1-8.
„ 220, 33-42	= „ 33, 8b to the end.
„ 220, 69-82a	= „ 30, 12 to the end (except 19b).
„ 220, 82b-99	= „ 31, 1-8.
„ 220, 101b	= „ 31, 23b.
„ 220, 102a	= „ 31, 25a.
„ 220, 105-110a	= „ 31, 30-34.
„ 220, 110b-120a	= „ 32, 28-37.
„ 221, 1-109a (except 59b, 77b. 84 and 85b)	= „ 34 (except 17b, 30b, 42b, 68-69a, 74a, 76b-77, 81a, 85b, 88-90a, 92a, 93 and 102-103a).
„ 221, 109b-165a	= „ 35 (except 8b, 33b and 55a).
„ 222, 1-21	= Viṣ III, 8, 20 to the end.
„ 222, 22 to the end (except verses 51-52)	= „ III, 9.
„ 230, 1 to the end	= „ VI, 1-2.
„ 232, 1 to the end	= „ VI, 3.
„ 233, 1 to the end	= „ VI, 4 (except 15b and 49b).
„ 234 (except 69b)	= „ VI, 5 (except 52-54, 69-78a and 81a).

Br 236	=	Mbh XII (Śānti-parvan), 238-239 (= ASB ed. 239-240 ; Bombay ed 240-241).
„ 237	=	„ „ „ 240 and 245 247 (= ASB ed 241 and 246-248, Bombay ed 242 and 247-248).
„ 238	=	„ „ „ 248-249 and 273 (= ASB ed 249-250 and 275 Bombay ed. 249-250 and 274).
„ 239-241	=	„ „ „ 300-302 respectively (= ASB ed. 302-304 ; Bombay ed. 300-302).
„ 242	=	„ „ „ 303-304 (= ASB ed. 305-306 ; Bombay ed. 303-304).
„ 243	=	„ „ „ 305-306 (= ASB ed. 307-308, Bombay ed. 305-306).
„ 244-245	=	„ „ „ 307-308 respectively (= ASB ed. 309-310 ; Bombay ed. 307-308) ¹⁶⁵ .

That, as regards these common chapters, the apocryphal *Brahma-p.* is the borrower, requires no evidence to prove. The quotations made by the early authors from the *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāyu-p.* show that the chapters borrowed by the *Brahma-p.* have been occurring in these *Purāṇas* from a time earlier than that of compilation of the present *Brahma*. As to the chapters common to the *Brahma-p.* and the *Harivaṃśa*, a comparison of the portions common to the

¹⁶⁵ Br 236-245 on *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* were traced by F. Otto Schrader in the *Śānti-parvan* of the *Mbh* and published in the *Indian Culture* (Vol. II, 1935-36, pp. 592-3) as a note on my article on 'The Apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa*' which appeared in the same journal.

Vāyu, Harivamśa and Brahma¹⁶⁶ proves the indebtedness of the Brahma to the Harivamśa. In these common portions the Brahma follows more the Harivamśa in its readings and extra verses than the Vāyu. The portions common to the Vāyu and the Harivamśa, and the references in the latter to the names of the great sages and the ten sons of Tāmasa Manu as declared by Vāyu (*vāyu-proktāh*—Hv I, 7, 13 and 25), tend to show that the Harivamśa had the Vāyu-p. as one of its sources. Pargiter also doubts the Harivamśa version of the dynastic account to be a revision of that of the Vāyu and says that 'it is manifestly later than the 'Vāyu version'¹⁶⁷. As to the chapters common to the Brahma-p. and the Mahābhārata, the priority of those of the latter is unquestionable.

We have given above the list of chapters that have been borrowed by the Brahma-p from different sources. If these chapters are left out of consideration, those which remain untraced are unimportant and small in number. They are as follows :

Br	1 (verses 1-20)	—	Introductory verses
„	18 (verses 1-6)	—	Enumeration of the topics treated of in chaps 1-17.
„	25	—	Names of holy places.
„	26	}	— For introducing chap. 27 on geography.
„	27 (verses 1-10)		
„	28-38	}	— Gods and holy places in Orissa.
„	41-70 (1-11)		
„	176-178	}	— On hells
„	214-215		
„	216-217 (partly)	}	— On the results of actions done (karma-vipāka).
„	218		
„	219	}	— On Śrāddha.
„	220 (verses 1-21, 30-32, 43-68, 100-101a, 102b-104, 120b-212).		
„	223-225		
„	226-229		
„	231		
		—	On Karma-vipāka.
		—	On the worship of Viṣṇu.
		—	Accounts of the Dvāpara and the future ages.

¹⁶⁶ Viz., Vā 62, 72b-98, Hv I, 2, 7-27 and Br 2, 7-28a; Vā 62, 99-193, Hv I, 4, 26 ff. to I, 6, 44a and Br 4, 19-110; Vā 63, 1-11, Hv I, 6, 44b-54 and Br 4, 111-122.

¹⁶⁷ Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp. 78-79.

- Br 235 — For introducing chaps. 236-245 on
Sāmkhya and Yoga
„ 246 — On Purāṇa-māhātmya etc.

Besides these, there may be found even in the borrowed chapters verses which are not traceable in the originals. These verses do not contain anything important for our purpose, nor do they shed any light on the date of composition of the present *Brahma-p*. Therefore, they may be neglected.

The apocryphal *Brahma-p*, with its borrowed and non-borrowed chapters, does not seem to have been composed, or rather compiled, earlier than the beginning of the tenth century A D. Had it been composed earlier, it should have been drawn upon, or at least referred to, by the Nibandha-writers earlier than the middle of the 13th century A D.¹⁶⁸ It is not that the early Nibandha-writers did not believe in the authoritativeness of the *Upapurāṇas*. The numerous verses quoted by them from a good number of such works¹⁶⁹ show that they gave almost the same importance to the *Upapurāṇas* and the *Mahāpurāṇas* as sources of Dharma. Even after the middle of the 13th century this apocryphal *Brahma-p*. began to be regarded as an authority only by a comparatively small section of writers consisting mainly of Hemādri, Śūlapāni, Vācaspatimiśra and Govindānanda. Each of them quotes a good number of verses from the present *Brahma-p*. Of the very numerous quotations made by Raghunandana in his *Smṛti-tattva* from the 'Brahma-p' some are found in those chapters of the extant *Brahma* which deal with the holy places in Orissa. Raghunandana draws upon the extant *Brahma-p*. in his *Yātrā-tattva* also. These quotations made in relation to the worship of the Sun, Śiva and god *Puruṣottama*, and the expression '*brahma-*

¹⁶⁸ In *Dānasāgara*, fol 4a there is mention of a few spurious Purāṇas including the 'Brāhma' with a general statement of their contents. But as these contents do not agree even partially with those of our extant *Brahma*, it is highly probable, if not sure, that the spurious 'Brāhma' of the *Dānasāgara* was different from our present *Brahma*.

R. L. Mitra describes a *Brahma-p*. which consists of two Khandas,—*Pūrva* and *Uttara*, and is quite different from our present *Brahma*. As it mentions the history of Rādhā, her worship, Tulasi's marriage with Śankhaśūda, the history of Manasā, etc., it must be a very late work. See, Mitra, A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Bikaner, pp. 187-9.

¹⁶⁹ Viz, *Ādi-p* (not the *Brahma-p* which also is sometimes called '*Ādi-p*'), *Ādiṭya-p*, *Nṛmha-p*, *Kālikā-p*, *Nandi-p*, *Nandikeśvara*, *Devī-p*, *Saura-p*, *Saura-dharmottara*, *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Viṣṇu-rahasya*, *Viṣṇu-dharma*, *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, *Viṣṇu-dharmottarāṃṛta*, *Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma*, *Śiva-rahasya*, *Śiva-dharmottara*, *Bhagavati-p*, *Śāmba-p* and so forth.

purāṇokta-mārkaṇḍeya-hrade pradyumna-sarovare samudra-rūpādi-tīrtha-bhedādau etc.' in *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 366 show that though Raghunandana used mainly the original (or rather earlier) *Brahma-p.*, he must have quoted verses from the apocryphal *Purāṇa* also. From all this it is highly probable that the *present Brahma-p* is to be dated not earlier than the beginning of the tenth century A.D. As Hemādri, Śūlapāni, Vācaspatimīśra, Govindānanda and Raghunandana quote verses from it, it cannot be later than 1200 A.D.¹⁷⁰

Let us now pass on to the different chapters. Chap. 25 gives a long list of the names of holy places chiefly of Northern India. Though it mentions the Virajā-tīrtha and the Indradyumna-saras, the names of Purusottama-ksetra and Ekāmra-ksetra are conspicuous by their absence. Moreover, this chapter is wholly unconnected with those preceding and following it. So it seems to have been interpolated by some one living outside Orissa.

Chap. 26 is meant for serving as an introduction to chap 27 dealing with the geography of India. It was, therefore, written at the time when chap. 27 was borrowed from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*

Chaps. 28-70 and 176-178, on the holy places in Orissa, should be considered in four groups :

- (1) chaps. 28 (1-8), 42 (35 to the end), 43-69, 70 (1-11), and 176-178 on Purusottama-ksetra or Puri sacred to Visnu ;
- (2) chaps. 28 (9 ff.)—33 on Konārka sacred to the Sun-god ;
- (3) chaps 34-41 on Ekāmra-ksetra or Bhuvaneśvara sacred to Śiva ; and
- (4) chap. 42 (1-34) on Virajā-ksetra or Jajpore sacred to Devī.

Of these four groups of chapters, those belonging to group (1) were written first of all. The chapters of the remaining three groups were interpolated later. The reference to the quarrel between the Śaivas and the Bhāgavatas, and the avowedly sectarian character of the chapters of the different groups, prove that they were written by different hands.

The determination of the date of composition of the chapters on *Puruṣottamakṣetra-māhātmya* is rather difficult. They could

¹⁷⁰ In his *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 18, Wilson opines that our present *Brahma-p* 'was composed in the course of the thirteenth or fourteenth century'. But this opinion is open to serious doubts, because, even if the *Purāṇa* was compiled towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, it could hardly be expected to reach Hemādri, an inhabitant of Devagiri in Hyderabad, and to attain the position of an authoritative *Purāṇa* within fifty years of its compilation.

¹⁷¹ Br 56, 65 and 72-73.

not have possibly been written earlier than the end of the 9th century A.D., because there is mention of the Śiva-temple at the side of the Mārkaṇḍeya lake¹⁷¹. This temple was built in 820 A.D. by Kuṇḍala-keśarin, king of Orissa. Again, the expensive stone temple, which the mythical king Indradyumna is said to have built at Purusottama-ksetra, may be identical with that built by Ananta-varman Coḍaganga (Śaka 998-1069), one of the eastern Cāṅga kings of Orissa. He was 'a good patron of religious works and charities', and 'under his orders was built the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri'¹⁷². We cannot, however, put much stress on this supposition, because it is not known definitely that there was no Viṣṇu-temple at Puri before the time of Ananta-varman Coḍaganga. That the chapters on Purusottama-ksetra were incorporated into the present Brahma not later than the middle of the 12th century A.D. is certain, because these chapters are earlier than those on Koṇārka, Ekāmra-ksetra and Virajā-ksetra and many of these chapters are drawn upon by Vācaspatimiśra in his Tirtha-cintāmaṇi, by Śūlapāṇi in his Dolayātrā-viveka and Rāsayātrā-viveka, and by Hemādri in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi.

The story of Kandu in Br 178 seems to have been added later than chaps. 176-177. This story is told by Vyāsa, whereas in all other chapters on Orissa Brahmā is the speaker. Moreover, the story is inserted all on a sudden without any previous hint. The story that there had been at Purusottama an image of Viṣṇu made of sapphire and that it had been buried in golden sand by the god himself before Indradyumna went to the place, is most probably fabricated to give the place an air of greater sanctity and antiquity. A similar attempt was also made with respect to the image. It is said that the image was first constructed by Viśvakarman at the command of Viṣṇu: It was then taken to heaven by Indra, thence to Lankā by Rāvana, and from Lankā to Ayodhyā by Rāma. It was then given to the lord of oceans who, 'for some reason', placed it at Purusottama (cf. chap. 176). The honest motive underlying this story is obvious.

The chapters on Koṇārka, Ekāmra-ksetra and Virajā-ksetra must be earlier than 1200 A.D., because some of these chapters have been drawn upon in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi by Hemādri who lived far away from Orissa, the original home of these chapters, as well as by Vācaspatimiśra in his Tirtha-cintāmaṇi. As to the upper limit of the date of these chapters, it may be said that as they are later than the chapters on Purusottama-ksetra, they cannot possibly be earlier than 950 A.D. By their mention of a Sun-temple

¹⁷¹ Br 56, 65 and 72-73.

¹⁷² JASB, Vol. LXXII, 1903, p. 110.

at Konārka in Br 28, 46-7, they may appear to be later than 1240 A.D.; but it is extremely difficult to prove that the Sun-temple mentioned by the *Brahma-p.* is the same as that built between 1240 and 1251 A.D.¹⁷³ by Narasimhadeva I of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa. Even if the two Sun-temples mentioned above were taken to be identical, we could hardly expect chapters to have been written on the glories of the temple and to have reached Hemādri within only a quarter of a century after the construction of the temple. It is therefore highly probable that there was already an ancient Sun-temple at Konārka before 1240 A.D., and Narasimhadeva I either built another which has superseded the ancient temple in its fame and glory or rebuilt the ancient one which can be expected to have been in a dilapidated condition.

Chaps 214-215 on hells and chaps 216-218 on Karma-vipāka are probably of the same date as that of compilation of the present *Brahma*. They cannot be later than 1500 A.D., because Govindānanda quotes verses from chaps. 216 and 218 in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* (see App.). Many verses of these chapters seem to be in common with those in the original *Brahma-p.*, because, of the numerous quotations made by Mādhavācārya, only a few are found in chaps. 214, 215 and 217 of the present *Brahma*. As none of the quotations made by him on general customs, impurity, funeral sacrifices and penance is found in the present *Brahma-p.* though it contains chapters on most of these topics, it is sure that Mādhava used the real *Brahma* and not the present apocryphal one.

Chaps 219-222 (on funeral sacrifices, customs, duties of the castes and Āśramas, and impurity due to births and deaths) should be dated earlier than 1200 A.D., because Govindānanda quotes numerous verses from chaps 219-221 in his *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* and Hemādri draws upon these chapters in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*¹⁷⁴. These chapters (219-222) most probably come from the same date as that of compilation of the present *Brahma*.

The date of chaps. 223-231, dealing with Karma-vipāka, Visnu-worship etc., is not known definitely. They may have come from the same date as that of compilation of the present *Brahma*.

¹⁷³ According to an inscription discovered at Śrīkūrmam in Orissa, a person named Sāhasa-malla made a grant at the Sun-temple during the reign of Narasimhadeva I in 1251 A.D. So, this temple must have been built earlier than 1251 A.D.

¹⁷⁴ Hemādri and Govindānanda draw not only upon the present apocryphal *Brahma-p.* but also upon the earlier *Brahma*. It is for this reason that many of the quotations made by Hemādri in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* and by Govindānanda in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* and *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* and all of the numerous quotations made by the latter in his *Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī* and *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* are absent from the present *Brahma-p.*

Chaps 235 and 246, attached to chaps 236-245 on Sāmkhya and Yoga, were most probably added by the compiler. In some Mss of the present Brahma these chapters are not found at all¹⁷⁵.

The Gautamī-māhātmya (chaps 70-175), which was certainly composed by somebody living about the river Godāvarī, is a distinct 'work' (*pustakam*) by itself. It is called a 'highly meritorious Purāna' declared by Brahmā (cf Br 175, 78 and 87). The place which it occupies in the Brahma-p was not meant for it, because it divides the chapters on Purusottamaksetra-māhātmya. The way in which chap 176 opens, shows that it immediately followed chap 69. Moreover, in chap. 176 there is no hint from which we may conclude that the Māhātmya was there. In Br 179, 2 the sages refer to Bhāratavarsa (chap 27) and Purusottama-ksetra, of which they say, Vyāsa told them elaborately, but they do not mention the Gautamī-māhātmya which also precedes chap 179 in our edition. So, it is clear that the Māhātmya was not originally there. In the Venk ed it is placed at the end. This Māhātmya was attached to the Brahma-p later than the chapters on Orissa, for the Nāradya-p (I, 92), which gives the contents of the present Brahma-p, including the Māhātmyas of Purusottama-ksetra and Ekāmra-ksetra, does not mention the Gautamī-māhātmya.

The Gautamī-māhātmya does not seem to have been composed earlier than the tenth century A.D. The story of Gautama's bringing the Godāvarī (i.e., Gautamī) is undoubtedly later than those in Kūr I, 16, 95-123 and Var 71. The story of Bhagiratha (Br 78) also is of very late origin. As no author has been found to draw upon this Māhātmya, it is impossible to say anything definitely.

The results of the above analysis are as follows :

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| (1) Date of compilation | —Not earlier than the beginning of the tenth century A.D. and not later than 1200 A.D. |
| (2) Chaps 214-218 | —Not later than 1500 A.D. Probably of the same date as that of compilation of the Purāna. |
| „ 219-222 | —Not later than 1200 A.D. Most probably of the same date as that of compilation of the Purāna. |
| „ 223-231 | —Not known. May have come from the same date as that of compilation. |

- Chaps. 235 and 246 — Most probably added by the compiler.
 (3) „ 70-175 — Most probably earlier than the tenth century A D.

(4) Interpolations :

- Chap 25 — Comparatively late.
 Chap 28 (1-8) 42 }
 (35 to the } — Most probably not earlier than the
 end), 43-69, } end of the 9th century ; certainly
 70 (1-11) } not later than the middle of the
 and 176-177 } 12th century
 Chap. 178 — Later than the chaps. of the immediately preceding group.
 Chaps. 28 (9 ff.)—33; }
 „ 34-41 ; } — C. Between 950 and 1200 A.D.
 Chap. 42 (1-34) }

Though a comparatively late work, the present *Brahma-p.* has not escaped additions and alterations. Some of its chapters have been lost. *Vācaspatimiśra's* numerous quotations on *Avimukta-kṣetra-māhātmya* show that the apocryphal *Brahma-p.* once contained a good number of chapters on this *Māhātmya*. The *Nāradya-p.* gives a list of contents of the apocryphal *Brahma-p.* This list includes the story of *Rāma* which is not found in the printed editions.

Excepting the chapters on *Konārka*, *Ekāmra-kṣetra* and *Virajā-kṣetra*, the present *Brahma-p.* is *Vaiṣṇava* from beginning to end. There can be no doubt, therefore, about the *Vaiṣṇava* authorship of the *Purāṇa*.

In this connection we should like to say a few words about the *Smṛti*-contents of the original (or rather earlier) *Brahma-p.* which seems to have been lost. It has already been said that this *Purāṇa* was regarded as one of the most authoritative works in the whole range of *Purāṇic* literature. The quotations made by the *Nibandha*-writers show that it was a rich store of *Smṛti* materials. The multifarious *Smṛti*-topics, dealt with in this *Purāṇa*, appear to have been the following : (a) the duties of the *Āśramas*, (b) general customs and daily duties (*āhnikā*), (c) eatables and non-eatables, (d) rules of diet, (e) purification of things, (f) purification of the body, (g) funeral sacrifices, (h) impurity, (i) bath, (j) gifts, (k) duties of women, (l) different kinds of sins, (m) penances, (n) vows (*vrata*), and (o) observances in the different months (*māsa-kṛtya*). This list is based on the quotations

made by Jīmūtavāhana, Devanabhata, Aniruddhabhatta, Ballāla sena, Aparārka, Haradatta, Hemādri, Kullūkabhatta, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Caṇḍeśvara, Raghunandana, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, and others

9. THE SKANDA-PURĀNA 176

The present Skanda consists of seven Khandas or books—Māheśvara, Visnu, Brahma, Kāśī, Āvantya, Nāgara and Prabhāsa. The Māheśvara-khanda consists of the Kedāra-kh., Kumārikā-kh. and Arunācala-māhātmya (the third being divided into two parts—Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha), the Visnu-khanda, of the Māhātmyas of Venkatācala, Purusottamakṣetra¹⁷⁷, Vadarikāśrama, Kārttika-māsa, Mārgaśīrṣa-māsa, Bhāgavata, Vaiśākha-māsa and Ayodhyā; the Brahma-khanda, of Setumāhātmya, Dharmāranya-kh. and Uttara-kh.; the Kāśī-khanda, of two parts called Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha; the Āvantya-khanda, of Avantīkṣetra-māhātmya, Caturaśīti-linga-māhātmya and Revā-kh¹⁷⁸; and the Prabhāsa-

¹⁷⁶ The Vanga ed. of the Skanda-p. is generally the same as the Venk. ed., the most notable differences between the two being as follows:

Vanga ed.		Venk. ed.
II, ii (Purusottamakṣetra-māhātmya), 40	=	II, ii, 40-41
II, ii, 41, verses 1-36	=	II, ii, 42
II, ii, 41, verses 37 ff	—	Not found in the Venk. ed.
II, ii, 42-43	=	II, ii, 43-44 respectively.
II, ii, 44	=	II, ii, 45-46.
II, ii, 45	=	II, ii, 47-48.
II, ii, 46-56;	}	Not found in the Venk. ed.
II, ii, 57, verses 1-41		
II, ii, 57, verses 42 to the end	=	II, ii, 49.
V, iii (Revā-kh.), 233-6 (on the worship of Satya-nārāyaṇa)	}	Not found in the Venk. ed.

Besides these, there are other minor differences which need not be mentioned here.

The above differences between the two editions are explained by the editor of the Vanga ed. of the Purāṇa by saying that he took the Venk. ed. as the basis and added to it the additional chapters and verses he found in those Bengal Mss. of the respective Khandas which he used for his edition (see Preface to the Vanga ed. of the Skanda-p., pp. 10-11).

¹⁷⁷ The Vanga ed. of the Utkala-kh. is the same as the Purusottama-kṣetra-māhātmya occurring in the Visnu-kh. of the Vanga. ed. of the Skanda-p.

Of the four Mss. of the Purusottamakṣetra-māhātmya described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., Part VI, pp. 1925-29, three consist of 45 chapters each and one of 61 chapters, whereas the Vanga ed. has 57 chapters.

For the differences between the versions of this Māhātmya as occurring in the Vanga. and Venk. editions, see footnote 176.

¹⁷⁸ The Revā-kh., described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., Part VI, pp. 1860-62, seems to be much shorter than the printed text.

khanda, of Prabhāsaksetra-māhātmya, Vastrāpathaksetra-māhātmya, Arvuda-kh. and Dvārakā-māhātmya.

Though the above division of the Skanda is supported by the Nāradiya-p.¹⁷⁹, its real division seems to have been into six Samhitās with further subdivisions. According to the Hālāsya-māhātmya of the Agastya-samhitā (i.e., Śāmkarī Samhitā)¹⁸⁰ of the Skanda-p., the Skanda consisted of six Samhitās, viz., Sanatkumāra-samhitā, Sūta-samhitā, Śāmkarī Samhitā, Vaiṣṇavī Samhitā, Brāhmī Samhitā and Saura-samhitā, and of fifty Khandas¹⁸¹. The Sambhava-kāṇḍa, which is one of the seven Kāṇḍas constituting the Śivarahasya-kh. of the Śāmkara-samhitā of the Skanda-p., similarly divides the Skanda but transposes the Brāhmī and the Śāmkarī Samhitā. It further gives the lengths of the Samhitās as follows.

- (1) Sanatkumāra-samhitā consisting of 55,000 Ślokas or Granthas, (2) Sūta-samhitā, of 6,000 Ślokas, (3) Brāhmī Samhitā, of 3,000 Ślokas, (4) Vaiṣṇavī Samhitā, of 5,000 Ślokas, (5) Śāmkarī Samhitā, of 30,000 Ślokas, and (6) Saurī Samhitā, of 1,000 Ślokas¹⁸².

In some Mss the Revā-kh claims to be a section of the Uttara-kh. of the Vāyu-p (see, Egeling, *op cit.*, Part VI, pp 1302 ff). This claim seems to be supported by the Revā-kh. as found in the printed Skanda-p. Cf. Sk V, iii, 5, 16 and 229, 1

¹⁷⁹ Nār I, 104

Though the contents of the different Khandas, as given by the Nāradiya, agree generally with those of the respective Khandas of the Venk ed of the Skanda, the Mathurā-māhātmya and the Māgha-māhātmya, which, according to the Nāradiya, formed parts of the Viṣṇu-kh., are not found in the printed Viṣṇu-kh.

According to Saura-p. (AnSS ed) 9, 10, the Skanda was a very voluminous work consisting of eight Khandas.

According to the Prabhāsa-kh (i, 2, 102-106) the Skanda-p consisted of seven parts (bhāga), viz., (i) the first, called Māheśvara, on Skanda-māhātmya, (ii) the second, called Vaiṣṇava, (iii) the third on the Māhātmya of Brahmā, (iv) the fourth on Kāśī-māhātmya, (v) the fifth on the Māhātmyas of Revā and Ujjayinī, (vi) the sixth, called Nāgara, on Tirtha-māhātmya, and (vii) the seventh, called Prabhāsika, on Prabhāsaksetra-māhātmya, Tirtha-māhātmya and the Māhātmyas of Śāmkara and other gods.

Sk V, iii, 1, 40 also speaks of the seven parts (khanda) of the Skanda-p.

The above division of the Skanda into seven Khandas seems to be late; but it is certainly not later than 1600 A.D., because Mitra Miśra quotes the above mentioned verses of the Prabhāsa-kh. in his Viramitrodaya (Paribhāsa-prakāśa, p. 13) by expressly naming the Khandas as the source.

¹⁸⁰ According to the Hālāsya-māhātmya, the Agastya-samhitā, to which this Māhātmya belongs, is the same as the Śāmkarī Samhitā of the Skanda-p. See, Egeling, *op. cit.*, Part VI, pp. 1320 ff.

An 'Agastya-samhitā' is drawn upon in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (Vol. II, Part i, pp. 941-946).

¹⁸¹ Egeling, *op. cit.*, Part VI, pp. 1320-21.

¹⁸² Ibid., pp. 1363-4.

In its Śiva-māhātmya-khanda the Sūta-samhitā, which is furnished with Mādhavācārya's commentary entitled Sūta-samhitā-tātparya-dīpikā, divides and subdivides the Skanda-p in the same way as the Hālāsyā-māhātmya but differs from the Sambhava-kānda as regards the lengths of the six Samhitās which are as follows :

- (1) Sanatkumāra-samhitā, of 36,000 Granthas, (2) Sūta-samhitā, of 6,000 Granthas, (3) Śāmkarī Samhitā, of 30,000 Granthas, (4) Vaiṣṇavī Samhitā, of 5,000 Granthas, (5) Brāhmī Samhitā, of 3,000 Granthas, and (6) Saura-samhitā, of 6,000 Granthas.

Thus the total number of Granthas is 86,000, though it is expressly said that the Skanda-p consists of one lac of Granthas¹⁸³. The Saura-samhitā also says that the Skanda-p. consisted of six Samhitās and fifty Khandas, and that the Saura-samhitā, which was the last, contained 1,000 Granthas¹⁸⁴.

More detailed though slightly different, information about the divisions and subdivisions of the Skanda-p is supplied by the Kālikā-kh. belonging to the Sanatkumāra-samhitā¹⁸⁵. According to this Khanda, the Skanda was divided into six Samhitās and fifty Khandas. Of these six Samhitās, the first, called Sanatkumāra-samhitā, consisted of 25 Khandas¹⁸⁶, 10,000 chapters and 50,000

¹⁸³ Ibid, p 1378.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p 1382.

¹⁸⁵ Shastri and Gui, Cat of Sans Mss, Cal. Sans Coll, Vol IV, No 285

The Kālikā-kh contains many legends about Śiva and prayers addressed to that god, describes the origin of 500 rivers, and gives an account of the different castes and orders and their duties. It describes also the manners and customs of different parts of India. A geographical account of the world is also attempted.

This Kālikā-kh consists of 100 chapters, and the date of the Ms is Śaka 1718 (A 'Kālikā-kh.' is drawn upon in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Vol III, Part 1, p 1206)

¹⁸⁶ The names of these Khandas, as given in the Kālikā-kh., are as follows ;

- (1) Ksetra-kh., dealing elaborately with different places holy to Śiva, Viṣṇu and other gods,
- (2) Tirtha-kh., dealing with various holy places, the pious acts to be done there, the stories of the origin of these places, and so forth ;
- (3) Kāśī-kh., on the glories of Benares ;
- (4) Sahyādri-kh., containing the glories of Sahyādri and Setubhūpāla (?), and the account of Candanāpīṭha ; (see also footnote 198 below) ;
- (5) Himācala-kh., on the glories of the lord of the world (Viśveśa) ;
- (6) Malayācala-kh., describing the worship of Śiva (Śiva-pūjopavarṇana) ;
- (7) Vindhya-dri-kh., on Viśveśa-mahimā ;
- (8) Mokṣa-kh., on Mokṣa-dharma ;
- (9) Prabhāsa-kh., on Dharma and the glories of Prabhāsa ;
- (10) Puskara-kh. ;
- (11) Nāgara-kh. ;
- (12) Narmadā-kh., on the stories of the Narmadā ;
- (13) Śrīśaila-kh., on the glories of Śrīśaila ;

Ślokas; the second, called Sūta-samhitā, consisted of four parts¹⁸⁷ and 76 chapters; the third, called Śamkara-samhitā, was divided into 21 parts¹⁸⁸ and 2,000 chapters; the fourth, called Vaisnavī Samhitā, contained 300 chapters; the fifth, called Brāhmī Samhitā, consisted of 3,000 Ślokas; and the sixth, called Saura-samhitā, contained 60,000 Ślokas.

That the above division of the Skanda-p. into Samhitās is not fictitious, is proved by the fact that some of the Samhitās still exist, partly or wholly, in Mss. For example, the Sanātkumāra-samhitā¹⁸⁹, the Śamkarī Samhitā¹⁹⁰, the Sūta-samhitā¹⁹¹ and the

- (14) Avanti-kh., on Avanti-mahimā;
- (15) Gaurī-kh., on Gaurī's attainment of the fruit of her penance, and the method of Gaurī-vrata, (a Gaurī-kāṇḍa is drawn upon in the Prāyaścitta-khanda claiming to be a part of the Caturvarga-cintāmani of Hemādri);
- (16) Kuruksetra-kh., on the glories of Kuruksetra, and the gifts to be made there on the occasion of the solar eclipse;
- (17) Kedāra-kh., on the birth of Śiva;
- (18) Haridvāra-kh., on Haridvāra-prasamsā;
- (19) Setumāhātmya-kh., on Setutirtha-prasamsā;
- (20) Kālikā- or Kālī-kh., on the praise of and legends about Śiva, and prayers to the god;
- (21) Vratopākhyāna-kh., on vows and stories relating to Śiva;
- (22) Nadi-kh., on the origin of 500 rivers,
- (23) Dharma-kh., on the duties of the castes and orders;
- (24) Deśa-kh., on Deśadharmānukathana and Deśavidhikrama;
- and (25) Varṣa-kh., on the division of the earth into Dvīpas and Varṣas

Shastri and Gui, Cat. of Sans. Mss, Cal. Sans. Coll., Vol. IV, No 285

Unfortunately for us, the verses containing the names and extents of the divisions and subdivisions of the remaining five Samhitās are not given in the Catalogue. A very short account of these Samhitās is, however, given in the description of the Ms. See footnote 185 above.

¹⁸⁷ Eggeling, in his Ind. Off. Cat., Part VI, pp. 1377 ff., describes a complete Sūta-samhitā furnished with Mādhavācārya's commentary named Sūta-samhitā-tātparyā-dīpikā and consisting of four Khandas, viz., Śivamāhātmya-kh., Jñāna-yoga-kh., Mukti-kh. and Yajñavalkya-kh. The last of these Khandas is subdivided into two sections called Adhobhāga and Uparibhāga, the latter being further subdivided into Brahma-gītā and Sūta-gītā. See also, Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, V, Nos. 3848-60; Shastri and Gui, Cat. of Sans. Mss, Cal. Sans. Coll., IV, Nos. 239 and 242.

¹⁸⁸ According to the Sambhava-kāṇḍa, the Śamkarī Samhitā consisted of 12 Khandas. See, Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., Part VI, p. 1364.

¹⁸⁹ Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., Part VI, pp. 1365 ff. On pp. 1409-10 of the Catalogue, Eggeling describes a fragment of a Sanātkumāra-samhitā which, on account of the treatment of the worship of Rādhā, seems to be of very late origin.

¹⁹⁰ Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., Part VI, pp. 1320 ff. and 1362 ff.; Shastri, Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB, V, Nos. 3864A-65; Shastri and Gui, *op. cit.*, IV, No. 241 (Sambhava-kāṇḍa).

¹⁹¹ Eggeling, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 1370 ff. and 1377 ff. The Sūta-samhitā, with Mādhavācārya's com., has been published by the Anandāśrama Press, Poona.

Saura-samhitā¹⁹² may be named. Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Sūta-samhitā proves that the above division of the Skanda into six Samhitās must have been made much earlier than 1300 A.D.

Besides the different Khandas mentioned above, there were many others which claimed to be parts of the Skanda-p. Some of these Khandas are available in Mss partly or wholly, viz., Ambikā-kh.¹⁹³, Tāpī-kh.¹⁹⁴, Kanakādri-kh.¹⁹⁵, Bhīma-kh.¹⁹⁶, Śivarahasya-kh.¹⁹⁷, Sahyādri-kh.¹⁹⁸, Brhadbrahmottara-kh.¹⁹⁹, Parvata-kh.²⁰⁰, Ayodhyā-kh.²⁰¹, Mathurā-kh.²⁰², Pātāla-kh.²⁰³, Nivāna-kh.²⁰⁴, Umā-kh.²⁰⁵, Paraśurāma-kh.²⁰⁶, Bhū-kh.²⁰⁷, Himavat-kh.²⁰⁸, and so on. There is also mention of a Paundra-kh. in the Dānasāgara (fol. 3b), of a Mahākāla-khanda in the Caturvarga-cintāmanī (Vol. II, Part ii, p. 151 and Vol. III, Part i, p. 1098), and of a Camatkāra-kh. in the Caturvarga-cintāmanī (Vol. III, Part i,

¹⁹² Eggeling, *op cit*, VI, pp 1382-83

¹⁹³ Ibid, pp 1321 ff Shastri, Cat of Sans. Mss, ASB, V, Nos 3921-22

¹⁹⁴ Shastri and Gui, *op cit*, IV, No 294

¹⁹⁵ Is it the same as the Sahyādri-kh ? See, Eggeling, *op cit*, VI, p 1329

Shastri and Gui, *op cit*, IV, No 214

¹⁹⁶ Eggeling, *op cit*, VI, pp 1357-58

¹⁹⁷ This Khanda belongs to the Śamkara-samhitā and consists of 7 Kāndas, viz., Sambhava, Āsura, Vira-māhendra, Yuddha, Deva, Dakṣa and Upadeśa. See, Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat, VI, pp 1362-65, Shastri, Cat of Sans. Mss, ASB, V, Nos 3861A-65. Also Shastri and Gui, *op. cit.*, IV, Nos. 291, 282, 288 and 291-3 for separate Mss of the Kāndas

¹⁹⁸ It belongs to the Sanatkumāra-samhitā. Eggeling, *op cit*, VI, pp 1369 ff; Shastri, *op. cit.*, V, Nos 3930-32; Shastri and Gui, *op cit*, IV, No 249. See also footnote 186 above. A 'Sahya- (v.l. Satya-) khanda' is drawn upon in Kālanirnaya, p 290; and a 'Sahyādri-khanda' is drawn upon in Caturvarga-cintāmanī, Vol. III (Pariśeṣa-kh.), Part i, p 718 and Part ii, pp 305 and 306

¹⁹⁹ It begins with the same verses as the Brahmottara-kh of the printed Skanda and seems to have the same contents. See, Aufrecht, Bod Cat, No 126.

²⁰⁰ Eggeling, *op cit*, VI, p 1353.

²⁰¹ Shastri, *op cit*, V, No 3925. This Khanda is different from the Ayodhyā-māhātmya of the printed Viṣṇu-kh.

²⁰² Shastri, *op cit*, V, No 3926

²⁰³ Shastri and Gui, *op cit.*, IV, Nos. 228-9.

²⁰⁴ Shastri, *op. cit.*, V, No 3927; Shastri and Gui, *op. cit.*, IV, No. 290.

²⁰⁵ Shastri and Gui, *op. cit.*, IV, No. 294.

²⁰⁶ Shastri, *op. cit.*, V, Nos. 3928-29

²⁰⁷ Shastri, *op cit.*, V, No 3933 (Śambhalagrāma-māhātmya); Shastri and Gui, *op. cit.*, IV, No. 231 (on the shrines in and about Sambhalpur); Eggeling, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 1358 (No 3667). Is it the same as the Mahi-kh. named and drawn upon in the Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 397?

²⁰⁸ Shastri and Gui, *op. cit.*, IV, No. 253. Is it the same as the Himācala-kh. which is one of the 25 Khandas constituting the Sanatkumāra-samhitā?

pp. 357, 360, 650, 676, 698, 706-7 and so on), Madana-pārijāta (p. 310) and Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (II, ii, pp. 220-221). Though no Ms of the Paundra-kh. has yet come to light, Mss have been found of a Karatoyā-māhātmya²⁰⁹ which consists of two parts—Paundraksetra-māhātmya (verses 1-60) and Karatoyā-māhātmya (verses 61-85), and is said in the colophons to have formed part of the last (or latter) part of the Paundra-kh. (uttara-paundra-khanda). Besides the colophons, the Māhātmya itself contains indications which show that it was not an isolated booklet deriving authority from the Paundra-kh. but formed a chapter of a bigger work dealing, among other things, with topics on the Paundra-ksetra as well as with the results of bathing in the river Karatoyā²¹⁰.

The Camatkāra-kh. seems to have been preserved partially, with changes and modifications, in the Nāgara-kh. which contains a number of chapters on a king named Camatkāra and a town named after him. Two of the lines quoted by Hemādri from a 'Camatkāra-kh.' are found in chap. 20 of the Nāgara-kh.

From the above accounts of the divisions and subdivisions of the Skanda it is evident that the Purāṇa grew up into a huge bulk

²⁰⁹ Ms No 1434, D U Mss Lib It is a complete Ms consisting of 4 folios and dated Śaka 1784 The Māhātmya was published in 1298 B.S. (= 1891 A.D.) with a Bengali translation by Pandit Rāja Candra Nyāyapañcānana It has also been printed in Prabhas Chandra Sen's Mahāsthāna and its Environments (pub by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1929), pp. 25-8.

From the use of the words '*etat*', '*atra*' etc to mean the Paundra-ksetra and from the way in which the Karatoyā and the Karatoyā-tirtha have been respected and glorified over all other rivers and holy places, it seems that it was composed by one living at or near about Mahāsthāna in Paundra-vardhana. There is also a linguistic peculiarity in the word '*taddhāre*' (meaning 'to her') in verse 74 showing the Bengali origin of the Māhātmya.

The metres used in this Māhātmya are the Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā, Śārdūla-vikṛidita, Upajāti, and Śloka (in the majority of the verses).

²¹⁰ For instance, at the very beginning of the Māhātmya Pārvatī asks Śiva saying :

"aparam kathyatām deva nadīnām ca viśesatah|
paundra-ksetrasya mātmyam na śrutam vistarāt prabho||
....."

To this Śiva answers.

.....
"puraiva kathitam sarvam paundrasya ca sureśvari|
tatraiva kathitam tubhyam karatoyā-phalam yathā||"

and then goes on narrating the Māhātmyas as declared by Bhārgava.

Note the abrupt beginning and the words '*aparam*', '*puraiva*' and '*tatraiva*' used in the above verses Note also the nonmention of the occasion on which the interlocution between Śiva and Pārvatī took place.

with the addition of parts which could never come from the same hand²¹¹ or belong to the same age, and that the Khandas, which now constitute the printed Skanda, belonged originally to one or other of the Samhitās²¹².

Though the Khandas of the printed Skanda are thus derived from the Samhitās and the names of some of them are mentioned in the comparatively early Nibandhas²¹³, they can seldom claim to have come in their *entirety* from a very early date. A careful examination of their contents and the frequent Tantric traces found in them seem to show that they were subjected to revisions and emendations at times. During these revisions, some of the older portions were rejected and some were retained with modifications, while many new chapters and verses were added. It is most probably for this reason that of about 750 lines quoted by Vijñāneśvara, Jimūtavāhana (in his Kālaviveka), Aparārka, Ballālasena (in his Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara), Devanabhata, Mādhavācārya (in his Kālanirnaya and com. on the Parāśara-smṛti), Madanapāla and Śūlapāni (in his Vratākāla-viveka, Rāsayātrā-viveka, Dīpa-kālikā and Dolayātrā-viveka) from a 'Skanda-p.' or 'Skānda' without any special mention of the names of the Khandas from which these lines were drawn, only about 137 are found in the Visnu-kh., Kāśi-kh., Nāgara-kh. and Prabhāsa-kh. of the printed Skanda²¹⁴. Hemādri also quotes hundreds of verses

²¹¹ While speaking of the spurious Purāṇas in his Dānasāgara, Ballālasena remarks that due to its wide circulation the Skanda-p. existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts of Paundra, Revā and Avanti, thus seeming to include these three parts among the spurious Purāṇas. Cf. Dānasāgara, fol. 3b—*pracarad-rūpatah skanda-purāṇaikaṁśato 'dhukam| yat-khanda-tritayam paundra-revāvanti-kathāśrayam||*

²¹² For instance, the Kāśi-kh., Avanti-kh., Nāgara-kh., Prabhāsa-kh., Revā-kh. (forming part of the printed Avantiya-kh.), Kedāra-kh. (forming part of the printed Māheśvara-kh.) and Setumāhātmya-kh. (forming part of the printed Brahma-kh.) really belonged to the Sanatkumāra-samhitā. See footnote 186 above.

²¹³ The Nāgara-kh. is mentioned in the Smṛti-candrikā, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, Kālanirnaya (of Mādhavācārya), Vratākāla-viveka (of Śūlapāni), etc.; the Revā-kh. is mentioned in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, Dānasāgara, etc.; the Avanti-kh. is mentioned in the Dānasāgara; the Prabhāsa-kh. is mentioned in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, Kālanirnaya, etc., and so on. (See App.).

²¹⁴ Of these numerous quoted lines, the Mitākṣarā has 1 which is not found in the present Skanda; the Kālaviveka has 28, of which only 4 are found in Prabhāsa-kh. i, 208; Aparārka's com. has 40, of which only 2 are found in

from this Purāṇa in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, and a good number of these quoted verses is found in the extant Skanda. (See App. for the traced lines).

Besides the quoted lines mentioned above, there are also others which have been quoted by the Smṛti-writers with the special mention of the names of the Khandas or Māhātmyas from which these lines were drawn. For instance, from a 'Kāśī-kh.', the Viḍhāna-pārijāta (Vol. I) has 132 lines, almost all of which are found in chap. 37 of Kāśī-kh. i; Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva has 22 lines, of which 18 are found in chaps. 4 and 35 of Kāśī-kh. i; Govindānanda's Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī, Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī and Varsakriyā-kaumudī have 59 lines, of which 48 are found in chaps. 4, 27, 35, 38 and 40 of Kāśī-kh. i, Vācaspathiśāstra's Tīrthacintāmaṇi has 56 lines, of which 51 are found in chap. 59 of Kāśī-kh. ii; and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi has 42 lines, none of which is found in the printed Kāśī-kh. From an 'Avanti-kh.', Mādhavācārya's Kālanirnaya has 2 lines, none of which is found in the printed Avantiya-kh. From a 'Revā-kh.', Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti has 27 lines, of which 9 are found in chap. 159 of Sk V, iii (Revā-kh.); and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi has 81 lines, none of which is found in the printed Revā-kh. From a 'Nāgara-kh.', Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva has 10 lines (except the repeated ones), of which 5 are found in chaps. 216 and 266 of the present Nāgara-kh.; Śūlapāni's Vratākāla-viveka has 2 lines, which are not found in our printed Nāgara; Mādhavācārya's Kālanirnaya and his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti have 32 lines, of which 15 are found in chaps. 216, 217 and 266 of the Nāgara-kh.; Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi has a few hundreds of lines, the majority of which is found in Nāgara-kh., chaps. 162, 177, 178, 215-222, 266 etc.; and Devanabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā has 8 lines, one of which is found in our

Prabhāsa-kh. i, 208; the Dānasāgara has 136 and the Adhbs has 29, none of these lines being found in the present Skanda, the Smṛti-candrikā has 54, none of which is found in the present Skanda, the Kālanirnaya has 203, of which 6 are found in Nāgara-kh., chap. 266, and 4 in Prabhāsa-kh. i, 19; Mādhavācārya's com on the Parāśara-smṛti has 72, of which only 7 are found in Prabhāsa-kh. i, 207; the Madana-pārijāta has 47, of which 25 are found in Kāśī-kh. i, 4; the Vratākāla-viveka has 6, of which 2 occur in Kāśī-kh. ii, 84; the Rāsayātrā-viveka has 37, none of which is found in our present Skanda; the Dīpa-lalīkā has 8, of which 2 occur in Sk V, iii, 209, VI, 21, VI, 37, etc.; and the Dolayātrā-viveka has 85, all of which occur in Viṣṇu-kh. ii (Puruṣottamakṣetra-māhātmya), 42. The Smṛti-tattva also quotes, from a 'Skanda-p.' or 'Skānda,' verses which are sometimes found in the Puruṣottamakṣetra-māhātmya and other parts of the present Skanda. (See App.)

printed Nāgara. From a 'Prabhāsa-kh.', Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva has 6 lines (except the repeated ones), all of which are found in chaps. 19 and 205 of Sk VII (Prabhāsa-kh), i, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmani has a few hundreds of lines, the majority of which is found in Prabhāsa-kh. i, chaps 19, 205-208 and 336; and Mādhavācārya's Kālanirnaya and his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti have 11 lines, of which 3 are found in chap 205 of Sk VII, i. From 'chap. 29 of the Puruṣottama-māhātmya' Śūlapāni's Dolayātrā-viveka (fol 3b) has a few lines, one of which is found in chap 29 of the present Puruṣottamakṣetra-māhātmya. From a 'Camatkāra-kh', Mādhavācārya quotes 22 lines in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti and Madanapāla has 2 lines in his Madanapārijāta, but none of these lines is found in those chapters of the Nāgara-kh. which contain stories of a king named Camatkāra and of a town named after him. Of the 143 lines quoted by Hemādri from the 'Camatkāra-kh', only two are found in the Nāgara-kh. (chap 20).

The above informations regarding the different Khandas of the present Skanda show that at least some of these Khandas contain Smṛti-chapters which are fairly old. For instance, the Puruṣottamakṣetra-māhātmya contains chapters which must be dated earlier than 1300 A.D.; the Kāśi-kh. has chapters (especially i, 4, 35 and 38) which are older than 1300 A.D.²¹⁵; the Revā-kh. contains chapters (especially chap. 159) which are earlier than 1300 A.D.; the Nāgara-kh. contains chapters (especially chaps. 177, 178, 215-222 and 266) which are earlier than 1200 A.D.; and the Prabhāsa-kh. has chapters, of which some (especially chaps. 19, 205-207 and 336 of Prabhāsa-kh. i) are earlier than 1200 A.D. and some (especially chap. 208 of Prabhāsa-kh. i) are earlier than 1050 A.D. (See App.).

As to the upper limit of the date of the present Skanda, it can be said that *there seems to be little in it which can be dated earlier than 700 A.D.* At least, the frequent Tantric traces tend to create such an impression²¹⁶.

²¹⁵ The Bengali encyclopædia Viśvakosa (Vol. XI, p 565) informs us that in the Viśvakosa Office there is a Ms of the Kāśi-kh. which is dated 933 Śaka. As it has not been possible for us to compare the contents of this Ms with those of the printed Kāśi-kh., we cannot say definitely how far the latter contains older materials.

²¹⁶ Tantric elements began to be absorbed by the Skanda-p. even earlier than 1100 A.D. Cf. the verses quoted from the 'Skanda-p' in Aparārka's com., p 295 (*om hrīm namo bhagavati . . . huṃ kuru huṃ kuru . . . svāhā*) [iti dhenu-karṇa-japaḥ] and Kālanirpaya, p. 239 (*āgamokta-vidhīm kṛtvā* etc.).

Though the present Skanda is merely a part of the bigger one, it is by no means a small work. So, for want of sufficient space, a detailed analysis of its contents has not been attempted here.

10. THE BRAHMAVAIVARTA-PURĀNA

This voluminous work, which consists of four parts, viz., (I) Brahma-kh., (II) Prakṛti-kh., (III) Ganapati-kh., and (IV) Kṛṣṇa-janma-kh., glorifies Kṛṣṇa and identifies him with the supreme Brahma. It seems to have been meant for preaching the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. It contains, besides numerous legends and glorifications, a good number of chapters on Smṛti-matter; viz., Bv I, 10 on the mixed castes; II, 9 on gifts, II, 10, 22-23, 39, 43-46, 55 and 65 and III, 13, 19 and 32 on worship; II, 24-27, 29-33 and 52 on hells and the results of actions done; II, 54 and IV, 21 on the worship and glorification of the Brāhmins, III, 3-4 and IV, 8, 16, 26 and 27 on Vratas, and IV, 83-84 on Varṇāśāmadharma and the duties of women.

A perusal of the Brahmavaivarta-p. shows that it is one of the latest of the extant Purānic works. Jogesh Chandra Roy has carefully examined this Purāna and come to the conclusion that *it was first composed most probably in the 8th century A.D. From about the 10th century it began to be changed by the interfering hands of the Bengal authors who recast it to its present form and contents in the sixteenth century.* In spite of this late recast, there are portions which have been retained from an earlier form of the Purāna²¹⁷.

The above view of J. C. Roy is supported by the quotations made by the Nibandha-writers from a 'Brahmavaivarta-p.' Of about 1500 lines quoted from this Purāna in the Smṛti-candrikā²¹⁸, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (including the Prāyaścitta-khaṇḍa ascribed to Hemādri), Kālanirnaya (of Mādhavācārya), Vratakāla-viveka, Rāsayātrā-viveka, Smṛti-tattva, Kālasāra, Varsakriyā-kaumudī and Haribhaktivilāsa, only about 30 (except the repeated ones) are found in Bv IV, 8 and 26 dealing with the Janmāstamī-vrata and the Ekādaśī-vrata respectively (see App.). The absence of the remaining verses from the present Brahmavaivarta shows that the Purāna with its present contents was not known to the writers of even the sixteenth century A.D., and that all the Smṛti-chapters, except IV, 8 and 26, are very late additions.

²¹⁷ Bhāratavarṣa (a Bengali Journal), 1937 B. S., Āśāḍha, pp. 94-101. Wilson holds that the Purāna 'was compiled subsequent to the Muhammadan invasion.' See, Wilson, Essays, Vol. I, p. 120.

²¹⁸ In this work the Purāna is named Brahmakaivarta. This Purāna seems to be different from the Brahmakaivarta-p. current in Southern India.

The fact that none of the early Nibandha-writers, except Devanabhatta, is found to draw upon the 'Brahmavaivarta-p.', which, as the quotations made by the comparatively late Nibandha-writers show, was a rich store of Smṛti materials mainly religious, proves the comparative unpopularity of the Purāṇa with these early authors.

The statement that the present Brahmavaivarta was first composed most probably in the 8th century A.D., should not be taken to mean that there was no Purāṇa named Brahmavaivarta before that century. From the consideration of the oldness of the dictum that there were eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, it seems highly probable that before 700 A.D. there existed a Brahmavaivarta which is now lost.

11. THE BHAVISYA-PURĀṆA

Regarding the contents of the Bhavisya-p. the Matsya informs us that, in relation to the Aghora-kalpa, Brahmā spoke out to Manu the Purāṇa which dealt with the glories of the Sun, and that it contained 14,500 verses²¹⁹. The information supplied by the Agni-p. differs slightly from that of the Matsya. According to this Purāṇa the Bhavisya, which originated from the Sun (sūrya-sambhava), was declared by Bhava to Manu, and its extent was 14,000 Ślokas²²⁰. More detailed information, though of considerably late date, in the same direction is contained in Nāradiya-p. I, 100, wherein it is said that once Manu enquired of Brahmā about Dharma. Accordingly, the latter spoke out the Bhavisya-p. in relation to the Aghora-kalpa. This Purāṇa was then divided by Vyāsa into five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaisnava, Śaiva, Saura and Pratisarga. The contents of all these Parvans are also given. About the Brāhma Parvan it is said that it began as an interlocution between Sūta and Śaunaka, and that it was mainly a book on the Sun (āditya-carita-prāya).²²¹

²¹⁹ *yatrādhukṛtya mātmyam ādityasya caturmukhaḥ|
aghora-kalpa-vrttānta-prasangena jagat-sthitim|
manave kathayāmāsa bhūta-grāmasya lakṣaṇam||
catuṛdaśa sahasrāṇi tathā pañca śatāni ca|
bhavisya-carita-prāyam bhaviṣyam tad ihocyate||* Mat 53, 30-31.

These verses are the same as Sk VII, i, 2, 49-50, the difference being that the Skanda reads 'jagat-patih' for 'jagat-sthitim'.

²²⁰ Ag 272, 12.

²²¹ Nār I, 100.

The contents of the 'Brāhma Parvan', as described by the Nāradiya, agree much with those of our present Brāhma which also is 'āditya-carita-prāya', contains various stories about the Sun, deals with creation etc.

From these informations we learn that the Bhaviṣya was narrated in relation to the Aghora-kalpa mainly as an interlocution between Brahmā and Manu, that it consisted of five Parvans, and that the Brāhma Parvan, which dealt primarily with the Sun, began as an interlocution between Sūta and Śaunaka. The printed Bhaviṣya, on the other hand, does not contain any interlocution between Brahmā and Manu; it is divided into four Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Madhyama, Pratisarga and Uttara²²²; there is no mention of the Aghora-kalpa, and though the Brāhma Parvan contains a good number of chapters on the Sun and his worship, it does not begin with the conversation between Sūta and Śaunaka. These

in chap 2, is the essence of the Śāstras (cf chap 2, verses 5 ff), treats of the sacraments in chaps 3 ff and of the Tithi-kalpas (i.e., rites and duties due on different lunar days) up to the Saptamī-kalpa in chaps 17 ff, and so on

²²² According to Saura-p. (AnSS ed) 9,8 and Sk V, iii (Revā-kh), 1, 34b-35a also, the Bhaviṣya consists of four Parvans.

Just as in the case of the numbers of Parvans, there are remarkable differences in their lengths also. Haraprasad Shastri describes a Ms of a 'Bhaviṣya-p.' consisting of five Parvans—Brāhma, Vaisnava, Śaiva, Tvāstra (i.e., Saura) and Pratisarga and dealing with the Kalpas (rites and ceremonies) due on different Tithis (lunar days), with the stories of Rudra and the Sun, and so forth (see, Shāstri, Cat. of Sans Mss, ASB, Vol V, No 3738). The description shows that (1) the Brāhma Parvan ends with the Pratīpat-kalpa, the interlocutors being Śatānika and Sumantu; (2) the Viṣṇu-parvan deals with all the remaining Tithi-kalpas, has the same principal interlocutors as in the Brāhma Parvan, and consists of 31 chapters; (3) the Rudra-parvan has the same interlocutors, deals with the origin of Rudra, Datta and others, and consists of 3 chapters, (4) the Tvāstr-parvan has Śatānika as one of the interlocutors, contains a Sūrya-śuka-samvāda, and deals with the story of the marriage of the Sun with Samjñā, Śuka's going to the solar region (sūrya-maṇḍala), and so on; and (5) the Pratisarga-parvan begins with the Sun as an interlocutor, contains a Sūrya-śuka-samvāda, and ends with the return of Śuka from the solar region.

Mss of the Bhaviṣya-p. described by Eggeling (Ind. Off Cat, Part VI, No. 3447) and Aufrecht (Bodleian Catalogue, No 75) extend upto the Saptamī-kalpa, and almost all their contents occur in the Brāhma Parvan of our printed Bhaviṣya (see Bhav I, 2 ff.). These Mss deal, among other things, with the stories of the Bhojakas and their origin from the Magas of the Śaka-dvīpa and are 'āditya-carita-prāya'. So they seem to have much in common with the Brāhma Parvan of the Bhaviṣya described in the Nāradya-p., according to which this Parvan also extended up to the Saptamī-kalpa and was 'āditya-carita-prāya'.

Another Ms of the Bhaviṣya divides the Purāṇa into two Bhāgas—Pūrva and Upari, the former consisting of the Brāhma and Vaisnava Parvans and extending up to the Navamī-kalpa, and the latter containing the Madhyama-tantra composed of four parts (bhāga). This Madhyama-tantra has many chapters and verses in common with the Madhyama

disagreements show that at least the major portion of the present Bhavisya does not represent the earlier one known to and noticed by the Matsya, Agni and Nāradiya-p.²²³ As a matter of fact, the three Parvans—Madhyama, Pratisarga and Uttara—are comparatively late appendages. Of these three, the Madhyama Parvan, which is not mentioned in Bhav I, 2, 2-3 speaking of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaisnava, Śaiva, Tvāstra and Pratisarga, is full of Tantric elements, recognises the authority of the Tantras, and mentions the Yāmalaś, Dāmaras etc. Moreover, none of the numerous verses quoted from the 'Bhavisya-p' or 'Bhavisya' by the comparatively early commentators and Nibandha-writers like Bhavadeva, Jimūtavāhana, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, Devanabhata, Ballālasena, Aniruddhabhatta, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya and Śūlapāni is found to occur in this Parvan though it is full of Smṛti materials. So, it can hardly claim to have come from an early date²²⁴. The Pratisarga-parvan, though nominally mentioned in Bhav I, 2, 2-3, is practically a new work. It narrates stories about Adam, Noah, Yākuta and others, and speaks of Taimurlong, Nadir Shah and Akbar with their descendants. It gives the story of Jayacandra and Prthvīrāja, preaches the glories of the worship of Satya-nārāyaṇa, and fabricates myths about the births of Varāhamihira, Śamkarācārya, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva, Jayadeva, Viśnūsvāmin, Bhaṭṭojidiksita, Ānandagiri, Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, Nityānanda, Kabīra, Nānaka, Ruidāsa, and others. It even knows the British rule in India and names Calcutta and the Parliament (aṣṭa-kaūśālyā). Thus its contents betray its late date²²⁵. The

Parvan of our printed Bhavisya (see, Shastri, Cat of Sans Mss, ASB, Vol. V, No. 3740, and Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Second Series, Vol. II, No. 151).

Yet another Ms of the same Purāṇa speaks of three parts (khanda)—Vaisnava, Śiva and Śakti, and gives the lives even of Jīva Gosvāmin and other followers of Caitanya. It thus resembles the Pratisarga-parvan of our printed Bhavisya (see, Shastri and Gui, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, No 176)

²²³ According to the Nāradiya-p. (I, 100, 13) the Bhavisya known to it consisted of 14,000 Ślokaś. So, it was a much shorter work than our printed Bhavisya.

²²⁴ Though the Madhyama Parvan is generally a late work, it contains chapters and verses which must be dated earlier than 1500 A.D.; because, of the verses quoted by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva II, pp. 286-7 from the 'bhaviṣyapurāṇīya-madhyatantra-ṣaṣṭhādhyāya' and on p. 509 from 'the ninth chapter of the third part' of the same Purāṇa (cf. *iti bhaviṣya-purāṇe tritiya-bhāge navamo 'dhyāyaḥ*), those on p. 509 are found to tally with Bhav II (Madhyama Parvan), iii (Tṛtiya Bhāga), chap. 18, verses 1 and 4-10 (the lines 'tathā jambu', 'etesām valkala-rasaḥ' and 'kuśa-valmika-sambhūtam' being not found).

²²⁵ According to the Nāradiya-p. (I, 100, 10) the Pratisarga-parvan known to it contained various legends (*nānākhyāna-samavṛtam*). In the printed

Uttara Parvan, which calls itself a distinct 'Purāṇa named Bhaviṣyottara' ²²⁶ and is generally the same as the 'Bhaviṣyottara-p.' known to Aparārka, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya and others, contains chapters and verses which must be dated earlier than 1100 A.D. Its distinct character is further established by the fact that none of the verses quoted from the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' or 'Bhaviṣya' by the commentators and Nibandha-writers except Hemādri is found in this Parvan, though it is full of various Smṛti matters ²²⁷. The few cases, in which the verses quoted by Hemādri from the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' are found in the Uttara Parvan, must be due to the confusion between the titles 'Bhaviṣya' and 'Bhaviṣyottara'. (Cf, for instance, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, i, pp. 604-5, 669-671 and 705-717, and II, ii, 526-7, wherein verses, though really belonging to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.', have been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣyottara'. See also App.).

Different, however, is the case with the Brāhma Parvan, in which a good number of the quoted verses is traceable. Thus, some of the verses quoted from the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj), Kālaviveka, Aparārka's com. on Yāj., Dānasāgara, Smṛti-candrikā, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, Madana-pārijāta and Kullūkabhatta's com. on the Manu-smṛti are found in Bhav I, chaps 2, 3, 4, 18, 19, 21, 22, 31, 32, 36-39, 46, 47, 51, 55-59, 64, 65, 68-70, 81-83, 86, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96-101, 103, 104-106, 108-112, 118, 165-170, 172, 181, 183, 184, 186, 197, 208, 209, 212-214 and so forth (see App). Therefore, it is sure that the major portion of the present Brāhma Parvan can rightly claim an early origin. Now the question is whether this Brāhma Parvan is the same as that of the Bhaviṣya known to the Matsya, Agni and Nāradiya. We have seen from the Matsya and the Nāradiya that the Brāhma Parvan of the earlier Purāṇa began as an interlocution between Sūta and Śaunaka, and that the Purāṇa was first declared by Brahmā to Manu. In the extant Brāhma Parvan, on the other hand, there is mention neither of Sūta and Śaunaka nor of Brahmā and Manu. It begins, unlike the other Parvans, with the story of king Śatānika, who, being advised by the sages, asks Vyāsa to speak on Dharmaśāstra.

Pratisarga-parvan also we find nothing but a number of mythical stories. But this coincidence must not be taken to assign the present Pratisarga-parvan to an early date, because Nār I, 92-109, which give the contents of the Mahāpurāṇas, are of a considerably late date

²²⁶ Cf. Bhav IV, 207, 10b—*Āhyātam bhaviṣyottara-nāmadheyam mayā purāṇam tava sauhṛdena*

²²⁷ More detailed information regarding the so-called Uttara Parvan will be given in our 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas'.

Vyāsa refers the king to his pupil Sumantu who is to speak on Dharma matters. Sumantu, therefore, first names the authors of the Dharmasāstras, viz., Manu, Visnu, Yama, Angiras and fourteen others, and goes on answering the questions put to him by Śatānika.

The above disagreements show that the extant Brāhma Parvan is the result of a recast to which its prototype was subjected. In this recast the general form of the Parvan was changed and many chapters were discarded²²⁸. It is most probably for this reason that numerous quoted verses, especially on vows and penances, are not found in the extant Brāhma Parvan.

The Brāhma Parvan calls itself a Dharmasāstra in which Śrauta and Smārta Dharma has been described²²⁹. The topics dealt with in it are multifarious. In chaps. 1-46 it treats of the duties of the castes and Āśramas, the sacraments, the duties of women, the good and bad signs of men, women and kings, and the method of worshipping Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Skanda and the Snakes on different Tithis; and chaps. 47-215 are devoted to the numerous solar vows, the glories of the Sun, and the origin of the Bhojakas from the Magas brought to India by Śāmba from the Śāka-dvīpa and married to the girls of the Bhoja family. This Parvan has taken a few verses from the Brhat-saṃhitā of Varāha-mihira without naming the source²³⁰. It refers frequently to Manu²³¹ and has numerous verses in common with the Manu-smṛti. Sometimes it expands the ideas contained in the verses of Manu. Aparārka and Kullūkabhatta are, therefore, justified in saying that

²²⁸ About the Bhavīsyā-p. the Dānasāgara (fol. 3b) says

saptamyavadhī purāṇam bhavīsyam apī samgrhitam atīyātāt|
tyaktvāstamī-navamīyoh (°myau?) kanyau ((kalau?) pāsandibhir grastau
(°ste?)||

This remark shows that the Bhavīsyā-p. known to Ballālasena dealt, among other topics, with the different Tithi-kalpas up to the Navamī-kalpa. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi Hemādri quotes numerous verses from the 'Bhavīsyā-p' on the Āstami-, Navamī- and other Tithi-kalpas. But in our printed Bhavīsyā there is no chapter on the Āstami- or Navamī-kalpa. According to Nār. I, 100, 9 the Tithi-kalpas beginning with the Āstami-kalpa were dealt with in the Vaiṣṇava Parvan.

The present Brāhma Parvan has not only suffered through losses but has also gained by incorporation. For instance, it includes the major portion of the Śāmba-p. (cf. Bhav. I, 72 ff and Śāmba-p., Venk. ed., chaps. 3 ff.).

²²⁹ Bhav. I, 1, 71 and 73.

²³⁰ Bhav. I, 130, 27 ff. (= Brhat-saṃhitā 56, 20 ff.),
I, 132, 26 ff. (= Brhat-saṃhitā, chap. 53, verses 48, 47b, 50-52
and 41-42), and

I, 137, 4 ff. (= Brhat-saṃhitā 60, 14 ff.).

²³¹ Cf. Bhav. I, 2, 114; I, 3, 10; I, 4, 23 and 141; and so on.

the Bhavīsyā-p. expounds the passages of the *Manu-smṛti*²³². This indebtedness to Manu is not, however, peculiar with the Bhavīsyā only. Most of the other Purāṇas often refer to Manu as an authority and have verses in common with the work of the great law-giver²³³.

The determination of the date of composition of the earlier portions of the extant Brāhma Parvan is very difficult, there being no sufficient evidence on which we may base our conclusion. It is, however, possible to form an idea of the upper limit of the date of especially the Smṛti-chapters. An examination of these chapters as well as of the untraceable verses quoted in the Nibandhas shows that they were composed at a time when the names of the zodiacal signs and the weekdays were well known and widely used²³⁴. The Nakṣatras have been mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī in one place (viz, Bhav I, 179, 1-10) and from Aśvinī to Revatī in another (viz, Bhav I, 102, 47-71). The chapters in which the Nakṣatras have been named are closely connected with the preceding and the following ones, in some of which the verses quoted by the Nibandha-writers have been traced. These chapters, therefore, cannot be taken as dating later than the adjacent ones. Now, the orders of the Nakṣatras and the popularity of the names of the Rāsis and the weekdays show that the upper limit of the date of composition of the Smṛti-chapters should be placed about 500 A.D., because from 550 A.D. the order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī attained a state of general acceptance. If the chapters containing verses from the Br̥hat-saṃhitā are not later additions, this limit should be placed later than 550 A.D. As we are not sure about the real character of these chapters, we shall have to remain satisfied with 500 A.D. as the upper limit.

In the extant Brāhma Parvan there are certainly some interpolated chapters which seem to include those influenced by Tantricism, because chapters dealing with the same topics but free from Tantricism are also found to occur. The chapters, in which Tantric influence is very conspicuous, are the following :

- I, 16 (verses 35 ff.) to I, 18—on Brahmā-worship;
- I, 29-30 —on Gaṇeśa-worship;
- I, 49, 199-200, 205-206 and 211-215—on Sun-worship.

²³² Cf. Aparārka's com. on Yāj., pp. 1071 and 1076; and Kullūka's com. on Manu XI, 73, 74, 76 and 101.

²³³ See my article in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 587-614.

²³⁴ Cf. Bhav I, 102, 76; I, 179, 12-13; I, 81, 2 and 16; I, 84, 1-2; I, 90, 1; and so forth. *Kālavivēka*, pp. 194-195, 300, 301-302, 420 and 422.

Some of these chapters must be dated earlier than 1200 A D (see App.). The rest might have been interpolated at the time of appending the other Parvans which also are replete with Tantricism.

A few words may be said here on the Smṛti-contents of that Bhaviṣya-p. which was used by the Nibandhakāras. From the quotations we understand that in this Bhaviṣya-p. there were some Smṛti-chapters in which the interlocutors were Sumantu and a king (Śatānīka?) of the Kuru family²³⁵. There were also some more chapters in which Īśvara spoke to Guha (i.e., Kārttikeya) on penances.²³⁶ This interlocution between Īśvara and Guha is not found in the present Bhaviṣya. From the quoted verses we understand further that the chapters on penances were based on the works of Parāśara, Śamkha, Vasiṣṭha, Manu and Gautama who are mentioned as authorities in the quoted verses²³⁷.

²³⁵ Cf Mitāksarā on Yāj. III, 6, Aparārka's com, pp 15, 39 and 563, Kālaviveka, pp 302 and 413, and so on.

²³⁶ Cf Aparārka's com, pp 1067-1069; Bhavadeva's Prāyaścitta-prakarena, p 17; Kullūka's com on Manu XI, 78; and so on

²³⁷ Cf Aparārka's com, pp 1061-1062, 1067, 1071 and 1075, and Kullūka's com on Manu XI, 91 and 147.

CHAPTER IV

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PURĀNIC CHAPTERS ON HINDU RITES AND CUSTOMS

In the previous two chapters the Purānas have been carefully analysed in order to find out the genuine and the interpolated Smṛti-chapters and to determine the dates of their composition. The results of this analysis, *so far as they relate to the Smṛti-chapters*, are given below in a tabular form.

1. Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna.

Chaps. 12 and 14	—on hells.	
Chap. 15	—on the results of actions done.	
Chaps. 28-29	—on the duties of the castes and Āśramas.	} —Some time about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Most probably in the 3rd century.
„ 30-33 (1-7)	—on funeral sacrifices.	
Chap. 34	—on customs in general.	
„ 35	—on eatables and non-eatables.	
„ 33 (8 to the end)	—on funeral sacrifices.	—Not later than the beginning of the 5th century A.D. but later than the above chapters.

2. Vāyu-purāna.

Chaps. 57-59	—on Yuga-dharma.	—C. Between 200 and 275 A.D.
„ 73-83 (except verses 14-42 of chap. 82).	—on funeral sacrifices, impurity, and purification of things.	} —C. 200-500 A.D. Probably in the middle of the 3rd century.

Chaps 16-17	—on the duties of the Āśramas.	} — Probably after 400 A.D, but certain- ly earlier than 1300 A D
Chap. 18	—on penances for the mendicants (yati).	
„ 101	—on hells and results of actions done	} —Not known. May have come from the same date as chaps. 57-59
Chaps 105-112	—on the glorification of Gayā.	
Chap. 82 (14-42)	—on the results of per- forming funeral sa- crifices in the holy places such as Gayā, Brahma-kunda, etc.	} —Added later. Cer- tainly earlier than 1400 A.D.

3 Brahmānda-purāṇa.

II, 29-32	—on Yuga-dharma.	—C. Between 200 and 275 A.D.
III, 10 (verses 52 ff) to III, 23	—on funeral sacrifices, impurity, and purifi- cation of things.	} —C 200-500 A.D. Probably in the middle of the 3rd century A.D.
IV, 2	—on hells and results of actions done.	
		—Not known. May belong to 200-275 A.D.

— 4. Viṣṇu-purāṇa.

II, 6	} —on hells.	} —C. Between 100 and 350 A.D. Most probably in the last quarter of the 3rd or the first quarter of the 4th century A.D.
VI, 5		
III, 8-16	—on the duties of the castes and Āśramas, customs in general, impurity, and funer- al sacrifices.	
VI, 1-2	—on Yuga-dharma and the results of actions done.	

5. Matsya-purāṇa.

Chap. 7 (37-49)	—on the duties of women.	} —Not later than 950 A.D. Most probably as old as the date of composition, or rather compilation, of the extant Matsya.
Chaps. 16-22	—on funeral sacrifices.	—C. 400-850 A.D. Probably between 550 and 650 A.D.
„ 142 and 144-145	} —on Yuga-dharma.	—(Most probably) of the same date as that of composition of the extant Matsya.
Chap. 53	—on gifts.	
Chaps. 54-57	—on vows (vrata).	
Chap. 61	—on vow.	
„ 68	—on bath.	
Chaps. 83-92	—on gifts.	
Chaps. 58-59	—on consecration.	
Chap. 60	—on vow.	
Chaps. 62-64	—on vows.	
Chap. 66	—on vow.	
„ 67	—on bath.	
Chaps. 69-72	—on vows.	
„ 74-75	—on vows.	
„ 77-80	—on vows.	
Chap. 81	—on vow.	
„ 82	—on gifts.	
Chaps. 274-289	—on gifts.	—C. 550-650 A.D.
„ 258-263	—on Pratimā-laksana.)	
„ 264-270	—on consecration and Vāstu.	—C. 550-650 A.D.
„ 205-206	—on gifts.	
Chap. 207	—on dedication (utsarga).	—C. 400-1100 A.D. Probably 550-650 A.D.
„ 76	—on vow.	—C. 650-950 A.D.
Chaps. 95-96	} —on vows.	—C. 600-900 A.D.
„ 97-101		Chaps. 95-96 are earlier than chaps. 97-101.

Chap. 7 (6-30)	—on vow.	—Interpolated ? Most probably not later than 900 A.D.
„ 102	—on bath.	—C. 650-950 A.D
Chaps. 215-243	—on the duties of kings, law (vyava- hāra), penances, sac- rifices to the planets and the methods of their pacification.	} —C. 650-1000 A.D.
„ 252-257	—on Vāstu.	
„ 93-94	—on sacrifices to the planets and the methods of their pacification.	} —C. 650-1000 A.D
„ 180-185	—on holy places.	
Chap. 165	—on Yuga-dharma.	—Probably not later than 950 A.D
Chaps. 103-112	—on holy places.	—C. 850-1250 A.D.
Chap. 13 (10 to the end)	—on holy places.	—Late interpola- tion.
„ 65	—on vow.	} —Uncertain. Surely very late
„ 73	—on vow.	
„ 39	—on hells.	} —Late, but uncer- tain.
„ 40	—on the duties of the Āśramas.	
Chaps. 186-194	—on holy places.	—Very late. (Later than 800 A.D.).

6. Bhāgavata-purāṇa.

III, 30	—on the results of ac- tions.	} —C. Sixth century A.D. Probab- ly in the for- mer half of this century.
VII, 11-13 XI, 17-18	—on the duties of the castes and Āśramas.	
VII, 14-15	—on funeral sacrifices and holy places.	

7. Kūrma-purāṇa.

I, 2, verses 36-75, and I, 3	} —on the duties of the castes and Āśra- mas.	} —C. 550-650 A.D.
II, 12-13, II, 14 (except verses 57b-61a), II, 15, II, 19, II, 24-25 and 27-29, II, 16	} —on the duties of the castes and Āśramas. —on customs in gener- al.	—C. 700-800 A.D. Most probably at the begin- ning of the 8th century.
II, 17	—on eatables and non- eatables	
II, 18-19	—on daily duties.	
II, 20-22	—on funeral sacrifices.	
II, 23	—on impurity.	
II, 26	—on gift.	—C. 700-1400 A.D. Probably 700- 800 A.D.
II, 30 and 32-33	—on penances.	
I, 28	—on Yuga-dharma.	
I, 29	—on the nature of the Kali age.	
I, 30-34	—on holy places	
II, 34-42	—on holy places.	—C. 750-1250 A.D., or rather 800- 1250 A.D.
I, 35-38	—on holy places.	—C. 750-1200 A.D., or rather 800- 1200 A.D.
I, 2, verses 76-87	} —on the duties of the castes and Āśramas.	} —Interpolated much later.
II, 14, verses 57b-61a	} —on Gāyatrī-uddhāra.	—Very late inter- polation.
II, 31	—on holy places.	—Interpolated much later.

8. Vāmana-purāṇa.

Chap. 11	—on hells	} —C. 9th or 10th century A.D. Most probably in the former.
„ 12	—on the results of actions.	
„ 14	—on the duties of the castes and Āśramas, customs in general, eatables and non-eatables, purification of the body and things, and impurity due to births and deaths.	
„ 80	—on vow.	} —Earlier than 1050 A.D. May belong to the 9th or the 10th century.
„ 95	—on the worship of Viṣṇu.	

9. Linga-purāṇa.

I, 25-28	—on Linga-worship.	—C. Between 600 and 1000 A.D. Most probably 600-800 A.D.
I, 77-78	—on the consecration of a Linga.	} —C. Between 600 and 1000 A.D. Most probably 800-1000 A.D.
I, 81	—on Pāśupata-vrata or Śiva-linga-vrata.	
I, 83-84	—on Śaiva Vratas to be observed in the different months.	
I, 85, 1-82	—on the method of muttering the five-syllabled Mantra.	
I, 85, 83-126	—on Dīksā and Puraścaraṇa.	} —on customs in general.
I, 85, 127 to the end;		
I, 89		
I, 90	—on penances for Yatis.	

II, 23-26	— on Śiva-worship.	} C Between 600 and 1000 A.D. Most probably 800-1000 A.D.
II, 28-44	— on great gifts.	
II, 45	— on funeral sacrifices for living persons.	
II, 46-49	— on consecrating the Linga.	
II, 51 to the end	} — on mystic rites and practices.	

10. *Varāha-purāṇa*.

Chaps. 13-14	—on funeral sacrifices.	}	—C. 800 A.D.	
„ 19-35	—on Tithis.			
Chap. 37	—on worship			
Chaps 38-65	—on vows			
Chap. 68	—on Yuga-dharma and penances.	}	—C. Between 800 and 1000 A.D. Later than the former chapters.	
Chaps. 115-120	}			—on worship.
„ 123-124				
Chap. 126	—on holy places.			
Chaps. 127-129	—on initiation.	}	—C. Between 800 and 1000 A.D. Later than the chapters of the first group.	
„ 130-136	—on penances.			
„ 137-139	—on holy places.			
„ 181-186	—on consecration.	}	— „ „ —Between 900 and 1100 A.D.	
„ 187-192	—on funeral sacrifices.			
„ 198-206	—on hells and results of actions.			
Chap. 207	—on gifts.	—	„ „	
Chaps. 208-209	—on the duties of women.	}	— „ „	
„ 140-151	—on holy places.			
„ 152-180	—on holy places.	—	—Interpolated. Not later than 1500 A.D.	
Chap. 99 (1-52)	—on worship.	—	—Later than chapters 140-151, but not later than the Haribhaktivilāsa.	
		—	—Not later than 1400 A.D.	

Chap 99 (53 ff.),	} —on worship and gifts.	—Not later than 1100 A.D.
Chaps. 100-111,		
Chap. 112 (1-62)		
Chaps 213-216	—on holy places.	—Not known. Interpolated late; probably not earlier than 1100 A.D.

11. Padma-purāṇa

(a) Ādi-khaṇḍa.

Chaps. 11-30,	} —on holy places	} —C. Between 950 and 1400 A D.
Chap. 32 and		
Chaps. 33-49		
Chap 31	—on the glories of Śālagrāma	
Chaps. 51-54 ;	} —on the duties of the castes and Āśra- mas	
and		
„ 58-60		
Chap. 55	— on customs in gener- al.	
„ 56	—on eatables and non- eatables.	
„ 57	—on gifts.	

(b) Bhūmi-khaṇḍa.

Chaps. 39-40	—on gifts.	} —C. Between 900 and 1400 A.D.
Chap. 41	—on the duties of women.	
„ 59	—on the duties of the Āśramas.	
„ 87	—on vows.	
Chaps. 90 and 92	—on holy places.	

(c) Brahma-khaṇḍa.

Chaps. 1 to the end	} —on vows, worship, besmearing the temple with cowdung, glories of Brāhmans, religious observances in different months, etc.	} —Very late. Most probably of the same date as that of the chapters of the Ādi-kh.

(d) *Pātāla-khanda.*

Chap. 9 (40-63)	—on the duties of the castes and Āśramas.	} — Later than the sixth century A.D. Most probably later than the time of the advent of the Muhammadans But earlier than 1400 A.D.
Chaps. 17-22	—on holy places	
Chap. 48 (4-69)	—on the results of actions.	
Chaps. 78-79	—on the worship of Śālagrāma.	} — Most probably not earlier than 900 A.D. Certainly earlier than 1400 A.D.
Chap 80	—on Viṣṇu-worship	
Chaps 81-82	—on initiation	
„ 84-99	—on vows	} — Not earlier than 800 A.D. Most probably later than 900 A.D., but earlier than 1400 A.D.
Chap. 102	—on the duties of women.	
Chaps 101, 105 and 110	} —on funeral sacrifices, Linga-worship and Yuga-dharma	
Chap. 108	—on vows.	} —
„ 113	—on funeral sacrifices.	

(e) *Srṣṭi-khanda.*

(As to those chapters which were borrowed by the *Srṣṭi-kh.* from the *Matsya-p.*, the dates given below are those of their incorporation into the *Srṣṭi-kh.*)

Chap. 7 (8-30)	—on vow.	}	} —C 600-750 A.D. Most probably in the latter half of the 7th century.
„ 7 (39-50)	—on the duties of women.		
„ 9 (73 to the end);	{ —on funeral sacrifices.		
Chaps. 10-11			
Chap. 15 (96- 158)	{ —on initiation and the duties of the Brahmā-worship- pers.	}	
„ 15 (161 to the end)			
„ 15 (161 to the end)	—on the duties of the castes and Āśra- mas.	}	

Chap. 17 (188-259)	{ —on holy places and Brahmā-worship.	} —C. 600-750 A.D. Most probably in the latter half of the 7th century.
„ 29	—on holy places.	
„ 31 (76 to the end)	{ —on vows and gifts.	
Chaps. 20-25	—on vows, gifts, bath and consecration.	} —C. Between 800 and 950 A.D. Most probably in the former half of the 8th century.
„ 27-28	—on holy places and results of actions	
Chap. 36 (28-51)	—on Yuga-dharma.	
„ 31 (8-75)	—on Brāhmī initia- tion.	} —C. Between 850 and 1100 A.D.
„ 43 (99 to the end)	{ —on the glories of Brāhmans, the characteristics of the Gāyatrī and its muttering, Prāṇāyāma, Nyāsa, etc.	
„ 44	—on bad Brāhmans.	
„ 45 (61 to the end)	{ —on the glories of Brāhmans and the means of their livelihood, Pātakas, and gift.	} —C. Between 1000 and 1400 A.D. Some of the chap- ters, of which chap. 47 is one, of this group must be dated earlier than 1200 A.D.
„ 46	—on customs in gener- al and purifica- tion of things.	
„ 47	—on the duties of women, and fu- neral sacrifices.	
„ 49	—on the duties of a wife, and giving away (in mar- riage) of the daughter.	
„ 54	—on the merits of digging tanks.	
„ 55	—on the merits of dedicating trees, gardens and water reservoirs.	

Chaps. 56-57	—on constructing dams, digging ponds, making gifts, worshipping Viṣṇu and other gods, erecting temples, and so forth.	} —C. Between 1000 and 1400 A.D. Some of the chap- ters, of which chap. 47 is one, of this group must be dated earlier than 1200 A.D.
Chap. 58	—on vows, glories of the Tulasī plant, etc.	
„ 59	—on the glories of the Tulasī plant.	
„ 60	—on the glories of the Ganges.	
Chaps 61-62	—on the worship of Ganeśa.	
„ 75-76	—on vows.	} —on the methods of worshipping the planets and Devī
„ 78 to the end	—on the methods of worshipping the planets and Devī	

(f) Uttara-khaṇḍa.

Chapters on marriage, gifts, vows, worship, duties of the castes and Āśramas, and holy places.	} —Late. Most probably not earlier than 900 A.D. Major portion earlier than 1500 A.D.
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12. Brhannāradiya and Nāradiya Purāṇas.

(a) Chapters of the Bnār dealing with the duties of the castes and Āśramas, funeral sacri- fices, penances, holy places, vows, etc.	} —Most probably between 850 and 950 A.D.; probably some time about the middle of the 9th century.
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(b) Nāradiya P.

(As to those chapters of the Nāradiya which were borrowed from the Bnār, the date given below is that of their incorporation into the Nāradiya).

I, 12	—on holy places.	} —C. 875-1000 A.D.
I, 13	—on building temples, digging ponds and making various kinds of gifts.	

I, 14	—on the duties of the castes and Āśramas, sins (pātaka), penances a n d funeral sacrifices.	} — C 875-1000 A.D.
I, 17-23	—on vows.	
I, 24-30	—on customs, duties of the castes and Āśramas, funeral sacrifices, penances, Tithis, great sins (mahāpātaka), minor sins, etc.	
I, 31-32	—on the duties of the castes and Āśramas.	
II, 1-37	—on the glories of vows.	} —Late interpolations At least Nār II, 38-43 on Gangā-māhātmya are earlier than Vācaspatimiśra.
I, 43	—on the duties of the castes and Āśramas.	
I, 64-68	} —on initiation, the me- thod of muttering the Mantra, and worship	
I, 82-91		
I, 110-124	—on various kinds of vows.	
II, 39 to the end	—on the glories of holy places.	

13. Agni-Purāṇa.

(a) The Smṛti-chapters which are original to the Agni-p. (except those chapters which are borrowed from earlier sources)	—on holy places, funeral sacrifices, worship of various deities, duties of the castes and Āśramas, marriage, customs in general, purification of things, impurity, sacrifices to the planets, sins, penances, vows, hells, gifts, duties of kings, etc.	—During the 9th century A.D.
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(b) Interpolated chapters.

Chaps. 21-106, „ 263-272, and „ 317-326 (There may be a few more chapters, but they cannot be separated).	} —on worship, bath, maintenance of the fire, performance of Mudrās, initiation, sacraments, build- ing temples, conse- cration of images and books, Vāstu, etc.	} —Later than the chap- ters men- tioned above.
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14. Garuda-purāṇa.

(a) Smṛti-chapters in the Pūrva-kh. (except those borrowed from the Yājñavalkya- smṛti and the Parā- śara-smṛti).	} —on various kinds of worship, initiation, Nyāsa, investiture with the sacred thread, consecra- tion of images, daily duties, gifts, penances, vows, bath, funeral sacri- fices, Yuga-dharma, Samdhya, etc.	} —During the 10th century A.D.
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(b) Smṛti-chapters of the Uttara-kh.	} —on hells, method of burning a man made of straw, im- purity, funeral sacri- fices, gifts, etc.	} —Later than the chap- ters of the Pūrva-kh
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15. Brahma-purāṇa.

The date of composition, or rather
compilation, of the Brahma-
purāṇa. —C. Between 900 and 1200 A.D.

Chap. 25	—on holy places.	—Spurious.
Chaps. 28 (1-8), 42 (35 to the end), 43-69, 70 (1-11) and 176-177.	} —on bath and holy places.	} —C. Between 900 and 1150 A.D. Earlier than the chaps. of the next group.

Chap 28 (9 to the end), Chaps. 29-41 and Chap. 42 (1-34)	—on holy places	—C Between 950 and 1200 A.D
Chaps. 214-218	—on hells and results of actions.	—Not later than 1500 A.D Probably of the same date as that of composition of the present Brahma.
„ 219-222	—on funeral sacrifices, customs, impurity and the duties of the castes and Āśramas	—Earlier than 1200 A.D.
Chaps. 223-231	—on marriage, holy places, worship, Yuga-dharma, and results of actions	—Not known definitely May have come from the same date as that of compilation of the present Brahma.
„ 70-175	—on holy places.	—Not known Probably not earlier than the 10th century A.D.

16 Skanda-purāṇa.

Smṛti-chapters of the Sk. —Generally late There are, of course, a few chapters which are to be dated earlier than 1050 A.D. For further details, see under Skanda-p. (Chap. III, section 9).

17. Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.

IV, 8 —on the Janmāstamī-vrata.	} —C. Between the 8th and the beginning of the 14th century A.D.
IV, 26 —on the Ekādaśī-vrata.	

Other chapters

—C. Between the
10th and the
16th century
A.D.

18. Bhavisya-purāna.

Smṛti--chapters of the Bhavisya	} —on the duties of the castes and Āsra- mas, duties of women, customs, marriage, worship, vows, initiation etc.	} —Not earlier than 500 A.D.
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Of these,

Bhav I, chaps. 21, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39, 46, 81, 96-101 and 106.	} —Not later than 1000 A.D.
Bhav I, chaps. 3, 4, 64, 65, 93, 103, 118, 181, 184 and 186.	} —Not later than 1075 A.D.
Bhav I, chaps. 2, 18, 19, 22, 38, 47, 51, 55-59, 68-70, 82, 83, 86, 89-91, 104, 105, 108-112, 165-170, 172, 183, 197, 208, 209, 212-214, and so on.	} —Not later than 1200 A.D.

The lower limits of the dates of the remaining chapters are not known.

The above table will show that the Purāṇas began to incorporate Smṛti-matter from about 200 A.D., and that there were two main stages in the development of the Purāṇic Smṛti materials. In the first stage, which covered a period ranging approximately from the beginning of the third to the end of the fifth century A.D., the Purāṇas dealt only with those topics on Hindu rites and customs which formed the subject-matter of the early Smṛti Samhitās such as those of Manu and Yājñavalkya.¹ But in the second stage, which began from about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.,

¹ These topics are: Varṇāśrama-dharma, Ācāra, Ahnika, Bhakṣyābhakṣya, Vivāha, Asauca, Śrāddha, Dravya-suddhi, Pātaka, Prāyaścitta, Naraka, Karma-vipāka and Yuga-dharma.

we are astonished to find a well marked improvement on the varieties of the Smṛti-topics. In this stage the new topics added relate mainly to various kinds of gifts, initiation, sacrifices to the planets and their pacification, Homa, consecration (pratisthā) of images etc, Samdhyā, glorification of Brāhmans and their worship, glorification of holy places, Tithis, Utsarga, Vrata and Pūjā. These topics are found neither in the works of Manu and Yāj.² nor in the Purāṇas, or portions thereof, which were written earlier than about the beginning of the sixth century A D.

* The Yājñavalkya-smṛti contains verses on Vināyaka-pūjā and Graha-śānti

PART II

CHAPTER I

THE HINDU SOCIETY BEFORE 200 A. D., AND THE PURĀNIC RITES AND CUSTOMS IN THE FIRST STAGE OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT

It has already been said that the Purāṇas, which dealt originally with the five topics only, have now grown up to be encyclopædic works by incorporating chapters not only on religious and social matters but also on law, politics, poetics, grammar, medicine, music, dancing and sculpture, and that there were two main stages in the development of the Purāṇic rites and customs. Hence the question naturally arises as to what led to such a remarkable change in the form and character of the Purāṇas, and determined the stages in the development of their Smṛti materials. To answer this we shall have to review briefly the early religious movements and the foreign invasions and occupations, and their effect on Brahmanical society. This discussion will, on the one hand, help us to find an explanation as to the present form of the Purāṇas, and, on the other, explain the nature of their Smṛti-contents.

Ancient India saw the rise of various religious movements which may be classified, according to their relation to the Vedic (comprising Śrauta and Smārta), as anti-Vedic (viz., Jainism, Ājīvākism and Buddhism), semi-Vedic (consisting primarily of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Brahmāism), and non-Vedic (viz., Śāktism). Besides the staunch followers of these religions, there was another class of people who were rather of a mixed type. On the one hand, they had high regard for the sectarian gods and looked upon their worship as the means of attaining salvation; on the other, they valued much the practice of the rules of the Varṇāśramadharma, and regarded the Vedas as the highest authority. We shall see hereinafter that the Purāṇic Dharma originated with this last-mentioned class of people.

The Brahmanical religion, rooted in the Vedas, allowed the highest place to the Brāhmins in society. In the Ṛg-veda, the Brāhmins are said to have sprung from the mouth of Puruṣa (the

Primeval Being). They formed the intellectual class among the Aryans, and commanded,—at least claimed for themselves,—the highest respect. Their duties were the performance of sacrifices, the study of the Vedas, and making gifts, and they depended, for maintenance, upon the liberality of kings and others received mainly in the forms of priestly fees and gifts. They enjoyed allowances and preferences even in the courts of justice. In marriage, inheritance etc. also, the Brāhman enjoyed greater privileges than the other classes. The Ksatriyas and the Vaiśyas had their prescribed duties which they were required to perform. The Śūdras were to serve the twice-born, who claimed absolute right over the earnings of their respective slaves.¹ Such a state of Brahmanism continued, more or less smoothly, for a time until there arose many new religious systems, some of which were clear protests against the position of the Brāhman and the authority of the Vedas, while others also were not very favourable to the Varnāśramadharmā. The rise and propagation of these rival faiths proved very fatal to the sacrificial religion of the Vedas which was already on the decline. We find that long before the time of Manu the Śrauta rites were gradually becoming obsolete and the orthodox Vedic religionists were turning Smārtas.

Probably long before the time of Gautama Buddha there were revolts against the Brahmanical doctrines. The Suttanipāṭa, in one of its sections named Mahāvagga,² mentions sixtythree different philosophical schools—probably all of them non-Brahmanical—existing at the time of the Buddha; and there are passages in Jain literature exhibiting a far larger number of such heretical doctrines.³ Of the teachers of these anti-Vedic religious systems the names of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, Gosāla Mankhaliputta and Gautama Buddha are too well known to be overlooked, and these three non-Brahmanical teachers were the most formidable enemies of Brahmanism.

Mahāvīra, the son of a nobleman of Vaiśālī, practised severe austerity and became the founder, or rather the reformer, of the Jain church. According to Jain traditions Mahāvīra was immediately preceded by Pārśva, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara. Professor Jacobi and others hold that this Pārśva was the real founder of Jainism. For want of information, literary or otherwise, we are not sure what the teachings of Pārśva were, and in what respects Mahāvīra differed from his predecessor. 'We are told that Pārśva enjoined on his followers four great vows, viz., not to injure life, to

¹ Gautama-dharmasūtra X, 65—*tadārtho 'sya nicayah syāt*.

² S. B. E., Vol. X, 2, p. 93.

³ CHI, Vol. I, p. 150.

be truthful, not to steal and to possess no property. while Mahāvīra added a fifth requisition, viz., that of chastity Pārśva allowed his disciples to wear an upper and an under garment. Mahāvīra, on his part, followed the more rigid rule which obliged the ascetic to be completely naked.⁴ Over and above these, Mahāvīra valued most the fourth stage of life and recommended it to his followers. These teachings of Pārśva and Mahāvīra were largely antagonistic to the ideas and tenets of Brahmanism. Moreover, the Jains did not recognise the authority of the Vedas. They had little faith in caste distinctions and in the Brahmanical rites and duties.

During the lifetime of Mahāvīra the spread of Jainism was rather limited. Though 'there seems to be little doubt that the Jains have more claim to include the parricide king (Ajātaśatru) amongst their converts than the Buddhists'⁵, Jainism does not seem generally to have overstepped the boundaries of the kingdoms of Magadha and Anga where the great teacher principally dwelt. After the death of Mahāvīra about 468 B.C.,⁶ his followers and successors succeeded in popularising the faith to a much greater degree, so that it did not fail to gain the support of kings as well as commoners. From the evidence of the legendary tales related by Jain writers, of whom Hemacandra is the most important, it seems that Udāyin, the successor of Ajātaśatru, was a great champion of the faith. He was so partial to the Jains that his partiality turned out to be the very cause of his death.⁷ From the fact that the Jains do not condemn the Nandas like the Buddhists, it seems that the Nanda kings were not unfavourably disposed towards Jainism. The Jain tradition tells us that the Nanda kings had a line of Jain ministers of whom Kalpaka was the first. This Kalpaka was made to accept the ministership against his will, and with his help the Nanda king uprooted the Ksatriya rulers from the face of the earth.⁸ From all this we are tempted to suppose that the Nanda kings were Jains.⁹ This supposition is strengthened by the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, wherein *Nanda-rāja* is found connected with an idol of the first Jina.¹⁰ From the evidence of this inscription we know that Khāravela was a strong upholder

⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 154. Also see S. B. E., Vol. XLV, p. 121, and Dr. Hoernle in ERE, Vol. I, p. 264.

⁵ CHI, Vol. I, p. 161.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 156.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 164.

⁸ *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, edited by Haribhadrasūri, Benares, 1905, pp. 691-693.

⁹ Smith, JRS, 1918, p. 546—"I may mention that I had come independently to the opinion that the Nandas were jains"

¹⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. XLIII, 1914, p. 173.

of the Jain religion.¹¹ According to Jain literary tradition, Samprati, a grandson of Aśoka, was a staunch Jain. He reigned probably in Ujjain, which, as the later Jain authors say, came to be regarded as one of the most important centres of Jainism even before the death of Aśoka. The numerous Mathurā inscriptions, discovered by Cunningham and Fuhrer, show that in the period ranging from about the middle of the second century B.C. to the end of the Kushan rule Jainism was firmly established in Mathurā where there grew up 'a widespread and firmly established Jain community, strongly supported by pious lay devotees, and very zealous in the consecration and worship of images and shrines devoted to Mahāvīra and his predecessors.'¹²

Mahāvīra had a great rival in Gosāla Mankhaliputta, who lived with him for six years and practised austerities. At last they were separated by a dispute, and Gosāla soon set up a new religious system of his own. His followers were called Ājīvakas, and his teachings resembled much those of Mahāvīra. He made Śrāvastī his head quarters, and came to have, in course of time, a grand following there.¹³ The Jains tell us that Gosāla was not very strict about moral matters.

Want of sufficient evidence, literary or otherwise, leaves us in darkness as to the spread and popularity of the system. It is mainly from the Jain works that we gather scrappy accounts about the Ājīvakas. The way in which the Jain authors attack Gosāla in their works, shows that the Ājīvakas formed a powerful sect which arrested the spread of Jainism. That the Ājīvaka sect continued to exist during the reigns of Aśoka and his successors is shown by a few inscriptions. The three cave inscriptions of Aśoka at Barābar in the Gayā district¹⁴ record the dedication of cave dwellings for the use of the Ājīvakas who 'went about naked, and were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind.'¹⁵ Another inscription of Aśoka names the Ājīvakas along with the Buddhists, Brāhmins and others.¹⁶ Daśaratha, a grandson of Aśoka, is known from three inscriptions to have bestowed on the Ājīvaka sect caves in the Nāgārjuna hills.¹⁷ These evidences show that the Ājīvaka sect did not lose hold on the society, but commanded respect even of kings.

The third great heretical system is Buddhism preached by Gautama Buddha, who also, like Mahāvīra and Gosāla Mankhaliputta, was a non-Brāhman and preached a system which was in

¹¹ JBORS, Vol. IV, 1918, pp. 364-404.

¹² CHI, Vol. I, p. 167.

¹³ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 162.

¹⁴ Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 181-182.

¹⁵ Smith, EHI, p. 177.

¹⁶ Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. I, p. 131.

¹⁷ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 103-104 and 134-136.

every way detrimental to the interests of Brahmanism. The Buddhists, especially those who entered the Sangha, practised Ahimsā, did not regard the Vedas and the Brāhmins, ignored the Vedic gods, did not recognise caste distinctions, and cared little for the Varnāśramadharma. In their opinion Śrāddha was a mere policy of the Brāhmins. These and similar other ideas and practices made the Buddhists the bitterest enemies of Brahmanism.

Buddhism had found great patrons in kings of whom Aśoka and Kaniska are the most important. Aśoka was a non-Brāhman, and a 'Śūdra' according to the Purānas. He did his best to popularise Buddhism in India and abroad, and looked upon the Buddhist monks with special favour. In his time the Buddhists increased overwhelmingly in number mainly at the cost of the followers of Brahmanism. Aśoka himself says: "The gods who were worshipped as true divinities in India have been rendered false.....by my zeal." After the downfall of the Mauryas, there was a Brahmanic revival under the Śungas, but the impetus which Buddhism received from Aśoka was not to be stopped. The inscriptions of the reign of the early Āndhras show that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition at that period.¹⁸ The rule of the Kushan kings also was very favourable to Buddhism. According to the Rāja-taranginī, "These kings who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the Turuska race, built at Śuskaletra and other places Mathas, Caityas, and similar (structures). During the powerful reign of these (kings) the land of Kāśmīra was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by (practising) the law of religious mendicancy (pravrajyā) had acquired great renown¹⁹". "The general prevalence of Buddhism in Northern India, including Kasmir, Afghanistan, and Suwat, during the two centuries immediately preceding and the two next following the Christian era, is simply attested by the numerous remains of Buddhist monuments erected during that period, and a multitude of inscriptions, which are almost all either Buddhist or Jain."²⁰

We have seen above the nature and spread of the three great heresies. We shall now direct our attention to two other religious movements, viz., Vaisṇavism and Śaivism. Materials for the reconstruction of the early history of these religions are so meagre that we cannot say definitely how these systems grew up and what contributions the Aryans and the non-Aryans made to their growth.

¹⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVIII, 1919, pp. 77 ff.

¹⁹ Stein, Kalhan's Chronicle of the Kings of Kasmir, Vol. I, p. 31.

²⁰ Smith, EHI, p. 313.

The earliest records of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism are contained in the Mahābhārata; but even there these systems do not seem to appear in their true character, because 'the priests have preserved for us, not so much the opinions the people actually held, as the opinions the priests wished them to hold'²¹. It is, therefore, quite probable that in the present Mahābhārata, which is practically a work of those who believed in the Vedas and the caste and Āśrama rules, and in which the attempt at popularising the Vedas and the Varnāśramadharmā and elevating the position of the Brāhmins is clearly discernible, the forms of Vaisnavism and Śaivism have been influenced by the ideas and motives of its authors.

The term Vaisnavism is very comprehensive in its denotation; but the modern Vaisnavas consist generally of the Pāñcarātras and the Bhāgavatas. These two sections, though originally different²², are designated by the generic term *Vaiṣṇava* on account of the identification of their respective sectarian deities with Viṣṇu.

The earliest document of the Pāñcarātras is the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata (XII, 335-351). Here we are told that there were seven Citra-śikhandin Ṛsis who proclaimed, on the mount Meru, a Śāstra which was on a par (sammita) with the four Vedas²³. This Śāstra contained one lac of verses, and it was meant for the populace²⁴. As it was to direct them both in activity (pravṛtti) and inactivity (nivṛtti), it was *made consistent* with the four Vedas²⁵. We do not know for certain whether there was really any ancient Pāñcarātra work ascribed to the seven Citra-śikhandin Ṛsis, but the very reference to making the scripture, which was meant for the commoners, conform to the four Vedas, is important in that it implies the originally non-Vedic, if not also anti-Vedic, character of the ideas and practices of the Pāñcarātra system. The Mahābhārata itself admits that the Pāñcarātra system is different from the Vedic, for it says: "Know, O saintly king, the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Pāñcarātra, the Vedas and the Pāśupata as knowledges holding different views"²⁶. It has been held that the above mentioned scripture compiled by the seven Citra-śikhandin Ṛsis was the forerunner of the Pāñcarātra Samhitās²⁷. But this view seems to

²¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 210. Cf. also Richard Fick, *Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time*, p. 14.

²² IHQ, VI, 1930, pp. 315 ff and 437 ff; VII, 1931, pp. 93 ff., 343 ff. and 735 ff.; and VIII, 1932, pp. 64 ff. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism etc.*, pp. 30 ff.

²³ Mbh XII, 335, 27b-29a.

²⁴ Cf. *loka-tantrasya kṛtsnasya yasmād dharmāḥ pravartate* [Mbh XII, 335, 39; also Mbh XII, 335, 29a—*loka-dharmam anuttamam*.

²⁵ Mbh XII, 335, 40.

²⁶ Ibid., XII, 349, 1 and 64.

²⁷ Farquhar, *Outline*, p. 98.

be untenable because of the fact that, as we shall see afterwards, the prescriptions of the early Samhitās of this sect are not at all favourable to the Varnāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas. On the other hand, the influence of the Varnāśramadharmā on the Samhitās increases with their comparatively late dates. It seems, therefore, that the original non-Vedic as well as anti-Vedic ideas of the Pāñcarātras were permeated through the Samhitās while the idea of reconciling the scripture of the seven Ṛsis with the Vedas found its later expression in the epics and the Purāṇas.

Of the early character of Bhāgavatism we can scarcely say anything definitely. That this system also was not, in its real character, very favourably inclined towards the Varnāśramadharmā and the Brāhmins, seems to be suggested by the facts that the Vrsnis, among whom Kṛṣṇa was born, were noted for their irreverent attitude towards the Brāhmins²⁸, and that the casteless foreigners were freely admitted into the Bhāgavata fold. The Besnagar inscription²⁹ of the second century B.C. mentions Heliodoros, an ambassador of the Greek king Antialkidas, as a Bhāgavata. The inscription further tells us that this Heliodoros erected, in honour of Vāsudeva, a flagstaff on the top of which there was an image of Garuḍa. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (II, 4, 18) also refers to the acceptance of Vaiṣṇavism by the foreigners :

*kirāta-hūnāndhra-pukhnda-pukvāsā
ābhīra-sukmā yavanāḥ khaśādayah|
ye 'nye ca pāpā yad-upāśrayāśrayāḥ
śudhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣṇave namaḥ||*

We should note that these casteless foreign races were held in great contempt by the Purāṇic Brāhmins who called them 'sinners'³⁰, 'Mlecchas'³¹ and 'inimical to Brahmanism'³², and that the authors of the Purāṇas always warned the people against disclosing the contents of these 'holy books' to such people³³. The admittance of the casteless foreigners into the Vaiṣṇava fold, and the encouragement to Saṁnyāsa for the practice of Yoga³⁴, as contrasted with the conservative and orthodox views of the Purāṇas, tend to show that the character of Vaiṣṇavism, which

²⁸ Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, text, edited by R. Shama Sastry, p. 12. Cowell's Jātaka, Vol. IV, pp. 55-56 and Vol. V, p. 138.

²⁹ Luders, Inscription No. 669, Ep. Ind., X, 1909-10, Appendix.

³⁰ Bhāg II, 4, 18 and II, 7, 46.

³¹ Viṣ V, 38, 28.

³² Viṣ IV, 24, 18—*abrahmanyān*.

³³ Cf. Vā 103, 69b-70.

³⁴ Cf. Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, text, p. 403 wherein there is mention of spies, disguised as ascetics with shaved head or braided hair, and pretending to be the worshippers of god Saṁkarṣaṇa. Megasthenes calls the worshippers of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa 'philosophers'. Cf. McCrindle, Ancient India, p. 97.

was accepted by these foreigners, must have been against the Varnāśramadharma and, therefore, a menace to it. From the position of women and Śūdras in the Vaiṣṇavism of the epics and the Purāṇas it seems that in popular Vaiṣṇavism also initiation was open to them, and they were allowed to worship Viṣṇu themselves.

Inscriptions and authors of the pre-Christian era testify to the early spread and popularity of Vaiṣṇavism. Pāṇini (IV, 3, 95 and 98) speaks of the formation of the word '*vāsudevaka*' to mean 'a person the object of whose Bhakti is Vāsudeva'. Megasthenes, who lived in the court of Candragupta Maurya, informs us that the worship of Viṣṇu (under the form of Kṛṣṇa) was very popular especially among the Śūrasenas³⁵. In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (text, p. 403) there is mention of the worshippers of god Samkarsana. Patañjali, in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pāṇini IV, 3, 98), mentions '*vāsudeva-vargyaka*' and '*vāsudeva-varginah*' (i.e., the followers of Vāsudeva), and regards Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as a divine being rather than a mere Kṣatriya³⁶. In the Ghosundi Stone Inscription³⁷ of the pre-Christian era there is a clear reference to the worship of Samkarsana and Vāsudeva. The Nānāghāt Cave Inscription³⁸ begins with an invocation of several gods including Samkarsana and Vāsudeva. The name 'Vāsudeva' was very popular with the Indians as well as the foreigners. The Peshāwar Museum Inscription (No. 21) names a Brāhman Vāsudeva, son of Indradeva and resident of Obhara, who caused a well to be dug³⁹. The ninth king of the Śunga dynasty was named Bhāgavata, and the founder of the Kāṇva dynasty was named Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva was also the name of the successor of the Kushan king Huviska. These evidences sufficiently prove the spread and popularity of Vaiṣṇavism. If the suggestion that the Ghosundi Stone Inscription belongs to the Kāṇva dynasty⁴⁰ is accepted, then it becomes evident that Vaiṣṇavism 'found favour not only with the foreigners such as the Śakas, Yavanas etc., but also with the Vedic Aryans of the royal family like the Kāṇvas, from an early date'.

The early character of Śaivism also does not seem to have been very favourable to the Varnāśramadharma and the authority

³⁵ McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 201. CHI, Vol. I, pp. 408 and 485.

³⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. III, 1874, pp. 14-16

³⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. LXI, 1932, p. 203 Also see JASB, Vol. 56, i, 1887, pp. 74 ff; Memoirs No. 4 of the ASI, 1920, p. 119; Ep. Ind., XVI, 1921-2, pp. 25 ff; IHQ, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 795 ff.

³⁸ Luders, Inscription No. 1112, Ep. Ind., X, 1909-10, Appendix, p. 121.

³⁹ Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. II, part 1, p. 157.

⁴⁰ IHQ, IX, 1933, pp. 795-799

of the Vedas. This irreverent character of Śaivism seems to be hinted at in a dialogue between Dakṣa and Śiva in the Mahābhārata, in which the latter says that in ancient times he formulated the Pāśupata system which was 'contradictory to, though in a very few cases agreeing with, the rules of the Varnāśramadharmā' and which was 'denounced by the unwise'¹¹. It is perhaps on account of their characteristic non-Brahmanical ideas and practices that the worshippers of Śiva (originally called Pāśupatas) have been looked down upon by the Smṛti-writers. The Smṛti-candrikā (II, 310) quotes from the Satṛimśan-mata three lines which run as follows:

*bauddhān pāśupatān jamān lokāyatika-kāpilān|
vikarmasthūn dvijūn sprstvā sacelo jalam āviśet||
kāpālikāms tu samsprśya prānāyāmo 'dhiko matah|*

'A man should bathe with all his clothes on if he chances to touch the Bauddhas, the Pāśupatas, the Jainas, the Lokāyatikas, the Kāpilas, and those Brāhmanas who have taken up the duties not meant for them. But if he touches the Kāpālikas, he should perform Prānāyāma in addition'. There is another verse quoted in the same work (II, 311), which says: "One should bathe with the garments on after touching the Śaivas, the Pāśupatas, the Lokāyatikas, the Nāstikas, the Brāhmanas who have taken up the duties not meant for them, and the Sūdras". The Kāpālikas, Sāttvatas, Bauddhas, Jainas and others are called '*durācārūḥ śaucācāra-bahiskṛtāḥ*' in a passage quoted by Aparārka (com., p. 143) from the Brahmanḍa-p, and are classed by him with the

* * * * *
vedāt śadāṅgād uddhṛtya sāmkyā-yogāc ca yuktitāh|
* * * * *
apūrvam sarvatobhadram viśvatomukham avyayaṁ|
abdar daśārdha-samyuktam gūḍham aprājña-nunditam||
varnāśrama-kṛtān dharmair vīparitām kvacit samam|
gatām tar adhyavasitām atyāśramam idam vratam||
mayā pāśupatam dakṣa śubham utpāditaṁ purā|
* * * * *

Mbh XII, 284, 121-124a.

These verses are found quoted in Aparārka's com. on Yū. (pp. 17-18). The readings given by Aparārka are sometimes different and also perhaps better; viz., he reads 'śuktitāḥ' for 'yuktitāḥ', 'arthair daśārdhah samyuktaṁ' for 'abdar daśārdha-samyuktam', 'śatāntaiḥ' for 'gatām taiḥ', 'anyāśramaṇ' for 'atyāśramam', 'smṛtaṁ' for 'vratam', 'pūrvam' for 'dakṣa', and 'yogam' for 'śubham'.

These verses are also found, with variations in readings, in Lg II, 20, 9-11; Vā 30, 293-295; Br 40, 108-110; etc.

outcasts (*patita*—com., p. 143) Examples of such hatred borne towards the Śiva-worshippers, and especially the Kāpālikas, are not rare in Sanskrit literature. The main causes of this hatred seem to be the peculiar manners and customs of these sectaries. The Pāśupatas used to remain completely naked or with a piece of rag (*kaupīna*) on⁴², bear awkward signs, hold a torch in the hand, laugh, sing, dance, shout, make amorous gestures and do similar other acts. They besmeared their bodies with ashes, and used to live in the cemeteries. They cared little for the caste and Āśrama rules, and admitted the casteless foreigners into their fold. The Śūdras and women were allowed to have Dikṣā and to worship the deity. The dress and manners of the Kāpālikas were much more repulsive. Their sacred thread was made of hair, their rosaries consisted of human bones, they held in their hands skulls which were besmeared with blood, and they wore matted hair which they ornamented with pieces of bones⁴³. By these and similar other repulsive acts they could not but excite the hatred of at least the members of the Brahmanical fold. There was another reason why the Śiva-worshippers were not in good grace of those who believed in the Varnāśramadharma. It was that they, like the Pāñcarātras, laid special stress on Samnyāsa for the practice of Yoga, and thus encouraged the breach of order and discipline in society.

From early times the worship of Śiva became very popular. The inscriptions and early authors give ample evidence in this direction. "A round copper seal, measuring 1.55 × 1.35 inches, with two rings on the back, was found at Sirkap in the year 1914-5. It shows the figure of Śiva with trident in left hand and club in right" ⁴⁴. Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya*, mentions the Śiva-bhāgavatas, devotees of Śiva, and speaks of the stress they lay on the worship of images⁴⁵. Megasthenes speaks of the popularity of the worship of Śiva especially in the hill regions, and compares Candragupta's hunting expedition to the processions of Dionysus (i.e., Śiva). Aśoka is said to have been a devotee of Śiva in his early life⁴⁶. 'The Śaka and Kushan kings who reigned from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. were usually Śivaites or Buddhists and were, with a few exceptions, not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva' ⁴⁷. The Kushan king Kadphises II (78-110 A.D.) was so ardent a worshipper of Śiva

⁴² Kūr I, 33, 8; II, 37, 100; etc

⁴³ Var 97, 13-14 and 20 Brhat-saṃhitā, p. 61.

⁴⁴ Corp Inscr. Ind., Vol. II, part 1, p. 102.

⁴⁵ Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini V, 2, 76.

⁴⁶ Smith, EHI, p. 135.

⁴⁷ H. C. Roy Choudhury, Early History of the Vaiṣṇava sect, p. 100

that he had a picture of the god stamped on his coins⁴⁸. Among the forms of deities stamped on the coins of Huviska, there is the figure of the 'Phallic Śiva'⁴⁹. Vāsudeva (182-220 A.D.), another Kushan king, was a worshipper of Śiva⁵⁰. The above instances amply testify to the spread and popularity of Śiva-worship in ancient India. The popularity of the worship of this god is further proved by the fact that in numerous cases the names of kings and commoners are found connected with that of Śiva. The Shahdaur Inscription names one renowned, rich, and wealthy Śiva-raksita (protected by Śiva; cf. 'Buddha-raksita') who made a donation of ten thousand Kārṣāpanas⁵¹. The Bimarān Vase Inscription mentions one Śiva-raksita, 'the Mūjavat scion'⁵². A seal inscription discovered in the Punjab belongs to 'Śivasena, the Ksatrapa in the town of Abhisārastha'⁵³. A cave inscription at Nasik refers itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta⁵⁴. It is needless to multiply examples.

Before we proceed further let us have a short pause here to enquire into the ideas, rites and customs of the followers of early Vaisnavism and Śaivism. We have said above that the original character of these two religions was most probably non-Brahmanical. By this it is not meant that those who worshipped Viṣṇu and Śiva were all influenced by non-Brahmanical ideas and practices and violated the Brahmanical rules of castes and stages. What we mean to say is that these two religions in their popular character were imbued with non-Brahmanical ideas and practices. On the other hand, it seems that among the early worshippers of these two deities there was one section of people who, though won over to the worship of these deities, looked upon the Vedas as authorities, attached great importance to the Varnāśramadharma and the Smṛti rules, and did not like to give them up. We shall call them Smārta-Vaisnavas and Smārta-Śaivas. The Jayākhya-samhitā mentions such Smārta adherents to the Pāñcarātra system. It divides the Pāñcarātra Vaisnavas into three groups, with further subdivisions, according to the extent of their renunciation (samnyāsa), the nature of their attachment to the sect, and their method of worshipping Viṣṇu. The first group consists of the Yatis, Ekāntins, Varkhānasas, Karmasāttvatas and Śikhins, the second group, of the Āptas (i.e., those who join the order wholeheartedly),

⁴⁸ Smith, EHI, p. 318; Cunningham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians, part III, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Cunningham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians, part III, p. 101.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵¹ Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol II, part 1, pp. 16-17.

⁵² Ibid., p. 52.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 103.

⁵⁴ Ep. Ind., VIII, 1905-6, p. 88. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 156.

Anāptas, Ārambhins and Sampravartins; and the third group, of the Yogins, Japa-nisthas, Tāpasas, Śāstrajñas and Śāstra-dhāraṅgas. The Anāptas, Ārambhins and Sampravartins are defined as follows :

*varṇa-dharmam anujñhitya hy āptādīstena karmāṇāḥ
yajanti śraddhayā devam anāptas te prakīrtitāḥ||
vina tenārtha-siddhyartham viśvātmānam yajanti ye
ārambhinas te boddhavyā vaiṣṇavā brāhmaṇūdayaḥ||
śraddhayā ye pravartante svayam sampūjane hareḥ
amārgena tu vipreṇ dra viddhā tām sampravartinaḥ||*

‘Those, who do not give up the duties imposed on them by their castes but worship the god with devotion (śraddhā) with acts prescribed by the Āptas, are called Anāptas. The Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins and others who, without caring for it (i.e., the instruction of the Āptas), worship the universal soul for the attainment of the desired objects, are called Ārambhins. O best of Brāhmins, know those people as Sampravartins who, out of Śraddhā, of themselves set to worship Hari in a wrong way’⁵⁵. Probably among the Śiva-worshippers also there were adherents of the types of these Anāptas, Ārambhins and Sampravartins mentioned above. It is undoubtedly these types of Brāhmaṇ adherents to Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism to whom the composite character of Purānic Hinduism was originally due, and who were also the authors of the present Purāṇas; because these works exhibit, on the one hand, the sectarian zeal in glorifying the respective deities, and, on the other, try to establish the Varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas.

Besides the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas there grew up in ancient India another sect which inculcated the worship of Brahmā. Of the early history and character of this Brahmā-sect we know almost nothing. The accounts which we find in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and the Padma-purāṇa (Śrīti-kh) are of comparatively late dates. Though from these accounts we cannot form any clear idea of the early character of the sect, one thing seems to be clear to us. It is that the Brahmā-sect attached great importance to asceticism for the realisation of Brahmā, the supreme Brahma.

The different sects and systems of religion that we have just reviewed created an atmosphere which did not in an orthodox way conform to Vedic or Brahmanical ideas. This atmosphere was further disturbed by the advent of the casteless foreigners such as the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas, Kushans, Ābhiras and others, who founded extensive kingdoms and settled in this country. Though

these foreigners accepted Buddhism, Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism and were soon Indianised, their anti-Brahmanic manners and customs could not but influence the people, especially their co-religionists. Most of these alien tribes being originally nomadic, they can be expected to have had a variable standard of morality which also certainly affected the people.

Further trouble was created to the Brāhmins by the political supremacy of the non-Kṣatriyas, or rather Śūdras as the Purāṇas hold, under the Nandas, the Mauryas and probably also the Āndhras⁵⁶. The Brāhmins always emphasised the low social status of the Śūdras and reduced them to servitude. In religious life also the latter enjoyed little privilege and freedom. It is natural, therefore, that these down-trodden Śūdras should have revolted against the Brāhmins when they had political power in their hand. How these powerful Śūdras behaved with the Brāhmins, we shall see later on.

⁵⁶ The way in which the land of the Āndhras was looked down upon by the Aryans shows that the inhabitants of this place could never claim a position better than that of the Śūdras. About the origin of the people of Southern India Baudhāyana says: "Those people are of mixed origin, who are inhabitants of Avantī, Anga, Magadha, Surāstra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Upāvr̥t, Sindhu and Sauvira" (Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra I, 1, 29). The land of the Āndhras and others lay outside the pale of Āryāvarta, beyond which, as Manu says, lived the Mlecchas. It was for this reason that the orthodox Brahmanists deemed it sinful to go to these parts of India. Vyāsa says: "One should shun the lands of the Angas, Vangas, Āndhras and other Mleccha tribes, and also those tracts of land where there are no antelopes" (See Smṛti-candrikā I, p. 22). Devala, quoted in the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III, 292), says: "By going to Sindhu, Sauvira, Surāstra, the frontier provinces, Anga, Vanga, Kalunga and Andhra, one deserves to be purified again". Similar other passages, quoted in the Smṛti-candrikā (I, pp. 22-23 and 24) from the Ādi- and the Skanda-purāṇa, show that the twice-born, who went to these countries except in times of distress, were looked upon as fallen from their castes (patita). As to the origin of the Āndhras, the twice-born had a low opinion. According to Manu their origin is as follows: — The issue of a Brāhman on his wedded Śūdra wife is known as a Nisāda (Manu X, 8), and that of a Vaiśya on a Brāhman woman is a Vaideha (Manu X, 11). Again, the issue of a Nisāda father and a Vaideha mother is a Kārāvara, and that of a Vaideha father on a Kārāvara mother is an Āndhra (Manu X, 36). This idea about the origin of the Āndhras shows that they could not claim a status better than that of the Śūdras. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (XII, 1, 20) calls the founder of the Āndhra dynasty a Vṛṣala i.e., Śūdra:

*hatvā kāṇvaṃ suśarmāṇam tad-bhṛtyo vṛṣalo baliḥ
gām bhokṣaty andhra-jātīyah kañcī kālam asattamah||*

'After murdering Suśarmaṇ of the Kāṇva dynasty, his servant, a powerful and most wicked Vṛṣala of the Āndhra race, will enjoy the earth for some time'.

We have enumerated above all the forces that, acting simultaneously, produced a state of society which was favourable neither to the propagation of Brahmanical ideas nor to the orthodox Brāhmins. An account of this social disorder can be gathered from the early Buddhist literature and the Purānas. In the latter treatises there are chapters on the description of the Kali age which can reasonably be taken to give an account of the Hindu society during the period ranging from the time of the prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism (i.e., from the reign of the Nandas) to the end of the Āndhra rule in western India. As these chapters speak of 'many Śūdra kings' who ruled in the Kali age and encouraged the spread of Buddhism and Jainism⁵⁷, and as in the Purānas Mahāpadma Nanda is called the first Śūdra monarch⁵⁸, it must be admitted that they point to a period covering roughly the reigns of the Nandas and the Mauryas who, with a very few exceptions, were supporters of the heresies. The references in these chapters to the performance of horse-sacrifices by the Śūdra kings⁵⁹ seem to point to the rule of the Āndhra dynasty, the founder of which is called a Vrsala by the Bhāgavata-purāna. From the evidence of inscriptions we know that the Āndhra kings performed many sacrifices, including the Aśvamedha and the Gavāmayana⁶⁰. During his excavations at Besnagar D. R. Bhandarkar discovered a sacrificial hall (yajña-śālā) and near it a seal inscription which reads as follows :

L. 1. *ṭimitra-dātrsya* [sa]—*ho(tā) =*

L. 2. *p(o)tā-mamtra-sajana* [?].

On this inscription he made the following remarks : "The meaning of this legend, as just remarked, is not clear, but the words *hotā*, *potā* and *mamtra*, which are technical to sacrificial literature, indicate that the sealing is really connected with the Yajña-śālā. And the import of the legend appears to be : 'Of the donor Ṭimitra accompanied by the Hotā, Potā, Hymn-kinsmen and' Timitra doubtless is the name of an individual, and seems to be the Sanskritised form of the Greek Demetrius. And it appears that this Greek personage called Demetrius was the *dātā* or *yajamāna* who instituted the sacrifice. The performance of a Brahmanic

⁵⁷ Mat 144, 40 and 43, Vā 58, 40; Bḍ II, 31, 41; Kūr I, 29, 7; and so on.

⁵⁸ Mat 272, 17b-18a; Vā 90, 326b-327a, Bḍ III, 74, 139b-140a; and Vīṣ IV, 24, 4-5. Also Bhāg XII, 1, 7-8.

⁵⁹ *yajanti hy aśvamedhaiḥ ca rājānaḥ śūdra-yonayah*—Mat 144, 43a.

yajante cāśvamedhena rājānaḥ śūdra-yonayah—Bḍ II, 31, 67b.

Vā 58, 67a wrongly reads '*nāśvamedhena*' for '*cāśvamedhena*' of the Brāhmāṇḍa.

⁶⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 77.

sacrifice by a Greek is not a thing that needs surprise us, because we know that many Greeks like other foreign people, such as Śakas and Pahlavas, became Buddhists or Hindus. Nay, at Vīḍiśā itself, as evidenced from an inscription incised on the Kham Bābā pillar, we have an instance of a Greek ambassador Heliodora (Heliodoros) calling himself a Bhāgavata or a devotee of Vāsudeva"⁶¹ From this remark it seems that the Greek Demetrius performed a sacrifice, but this sacrifice could not be meant by the lines of the Purāṇas referred to above, because the Greeks are always called Yavanas and not Śūdras. That the Purāṇic chapters on the description of the Kali age point to the period mentioned above is further shown by the Viṣṇu-purāṇa which describes the full swing of Kali (kalivṛddhi) as follows :

"Whenever there is noticed an increase (in the number) of the heretics, then, Oh Maitreya, should the full swing of Kali be estimated by the wise. Whenever there is a decrease in the number of the good who follow the path of the Vedas, and the efforts of those who cultivate Dharma relax, then, Maitreya, the predominance of Kali should be guessed by the learned. Whenever Puruṣottama, the god of sacrifices, becomes no longer the object of these (i.e., sacrifices), then the force of Kali should be understood. When the people do not show respect to the sayings of the Vedas but are inclined towards the heretics, then, Oh best of the twice-born, the augmented influence of the Kali age should be inferred"⁶².

This description points undoubtedly to the prevalence of Jainism, and especially of Buddhism, which became very powerful from the time of Aśoka Maurya. The other Purāṇas also ascribe the social disorder more to the heretics, viz., the Buddhists, Jains and Kāpālikas⁶³, than to anything else. From all that has been said above it becomes evident that the Purāṇic chapters on the Kali age are the records of the state of society during the period with which we are concerned here. The numerous verses found common to these chapters show that these are derived from a common source which must be very old. This source is probably to be traced in a tradition, for the origin of which the turmoil in society caused by the forces enumerated above should be held responsible. Now, the question may arise as to the real historical value of these chapters. Though the accounts contained in these chapters may appear to us rather hyperbolic, we should not set them aside as historically worthless. The authors of the present Purāṇas being Brāhmins, it is not expected that the picture, they themselves present

⁶¹ ASI, Annual Report, 1914-15, pp 77-78.

⁶² Viṣ VI, 1, 44-47.

⁶³ Kūr I, 29, 13; Mat 144, 40, Vā 58, 64; and Bḍ II, 31, 65.

before us, of their own degradation and humiliation on the one hand and the rise of the servile Śūdras on the other, should be totally false. Moreover, many of the statements of the Purāṇas can be supported by those contained in the inscriptions and the early Buddhist literature. Even if their statements could not have been thus supported, their value would have still remained, for, with all their exaggerations, they record the apprehension created in the minds of the Brāhmins by the rise of the heresies.

Let us now see what information the Purāṇic chapters supply of the state of society during the said period. For this purpose we shall look, as our sources, generally to the verses common to the chapters on the description of the Kali-yuga in the following Purāṇas, viz, the Vāyu (chap 58), Brahmānda (II, 31), Matsya (chap 144), Bhāgavata (XII, 2), Viṣṇu (VI, 1) and Kūrma (I, 29), because these Purāṇas come from comparatively early dates. These chapters give us the picture of a society in which the people often neglected the caste and Āśrama rules, and were influenced by the non-Brahmanical and anti-Brahmanical ideas and beliefs. The spread of the heresies told upon the people to such an extent that the members of all the four castes and Āśramas were affected more or less. The people did not often like to observe the rules of castes and to carry into execution the duties enjoined by the Rg-, the Sāma- and the Yajur-veda⁶⁴. Their mind was always occupied with the thoughts of money, and they did not hesitate to adopt unfair means to acquire it⁶⁵. The twice-born gave up the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrifices⁶⁶ which were reserved for the 'foolish'⁶⁷. They forsook their own Dharma, became wandering mendicants 'in hundreds and thousands', and worshipped gods with popular songs, but could not attain the supreme Brahma⁶⁸. They neglected the rules of Snāna, Homa, Japa, Dāna etc., and spoke ill of the Brāhmins, the Vedas, the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas⁶⁹. They performed various acts on the authority of the non-Vedic works, lost all attraction for their own duties, cared little for the rules of conduct, mixed with the heretics, and became professional beggars⁷⁰. They alarmed the people with their bad ambitions, bad education, bad customs and bad earnings⁷¹. On account of the spread of Buddhism and Jainism, the supremacy

⁶⁴ Vis VI, 1, 10 and 49.

⁶⁵ Ibid, VI, 1, 20a and 21b

⁶⁶ Vā 58, 33; Bḍ II, 31, 39a, Mat 144, 38a; and Kūr I, 29, 5a.

⁶⁷ Kūr I, 29, 5b.

⁶⁸ Kūr I, 29, 23b-24; Vā 58, 50a; Bḍ II, 31, 51b.

⁶⁹ Kūr I, 29, 8-9 and Viṣ VI, 1, 32b.

⁷⁰ Kūr I, 29, 10-11; Vā 58, 52a, Bḍ II, 31, 53b and 54b.

⁷¹ Kūr I, 29, 4; Mat 144, 35b-36a; Vā 58, 36; Bḍ II, 31, 36.

of the Brāhmins was often questioned. Men of all degrees pretended to be equal with the Brāhmins⁷² and defied their authority⁷³. They did not care for the directions of the Brāhmins in fasting, observing vows and making gifts, but were guided by their own *a priori* speculations⁷⁴. The Vaiśyas gave up trade and agriculture, and earned their livelihood by servitude or the exercise of mechanical arts⁷⁵. In this way the pure Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were almost extinct⁷⁶, and the prevailing caste was the Śūdra⁷⁷. The Purānas further say that in the Kālī age the majority of kings were Śūdras⁷⁸. This political supremacy of the Śūdras made their position felt by the members of the higher castes. The Purānas give interesting accounts of this elevated position of the Śūdras. The Kūrma-p says "The foolish (Śūdra) commoners drive away the Brāhmins when the latter are found occupying seats, and the Śūdra officers of state beat them. The Śūdras occupy better seats in the midst of Brāhmins, and the kings insult the latter. The Brāhmins, who are less educated in the Vedas and are less fortunate and powerful, honour the Śūdras with flowers, decoratives and other auspicious things. Though thus honoured, the Śūdras do not care to favour the Brāhmins even with a kind glance. The Brāhmins do not venture to enter the houses of the Śūdras, but stand at the gates for an opportunity to pay respect to them. The Brāhmins, who depend upon the Śūdras for their livelihood, surround them, when they are seated in vehicles, with a view to honouring them with praises, and teach them the Vedas. Thus even the best of Brāhmins fare against the directions of the Vedas, turn non-believers, and sell the fruit of their penance and sacrifices"⁷⁹. The Śūdras, who had knowledge of Dharma and Artha, read the Vedas, and the Śūdra monarchs performed horse-sacrifices⁸⁰. The Brāhmins became spiritually connected with the Śūdras who claimed equality of status as regards bed, seat and dining⁸¹. In religion also the Śūdras exhibited abnormal zeal. Naturally the Śūdras had a special attraction for Buddhism, because it denounced caste system and

⁷² Viṣ VI, 1, 23a.

⁷³ Viṣ VI, 1, 49.

⁷⁴ Viṣ VI, 1, 15.

⁷⁵ Viṣ VI, 1, 36.

⁷⁶ Mat 144, 38b; Vā 58, 38c; Bd II, 31, 39b.

⁷⁷ Viṣ VI, 1, 51b—*śūdra-prāyās tathā varnā bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge*. Also Mat 144, 78b; Bhāg XII, 2, 14a.

⁷⁸ Mat 144, 40a; Vā 58, 40a; and so on.

⁷⁹ Kūr I, 29, 17-23.

⁸⁰ Mat 144, 42-43; Bd II, 31, 67, Vā 58, 66b-67a. The Vāyu has wrong readings.

⁸¹ Mat 144, 39; Vā 58, 39; Bd II, 31, 40; Kūr I, 29, 6.

challenged the supremacy of the Brāhmins. They were further encouraged by the acceptance of Buddhism and Jainism by the kings who belonged to their own caste, the result being that many of them became Buddhist monks and began to preach Buddhism. The Vāyu- (58, 59) and the Brahmānda-p (II, 31, 59b-60a) say. "With white teeth, eyes brought under control, heads shaved and red clothes on, the Sūdras will perform religious deeds"⁸².

Besides the above causes of disturbance, there were also others which seemed to destroy social peace and order. Kings turned robbers, and the officers lost all sympathy for their masters⁸³. There was a great spread of Śaivism with the result that in the country buildings and squares were marked with tridents, and women used these to tie their hair⁸⁴. Some people put on red clothes, some became Nirgranthas, some turned Kāpālikas, some sold the Vedas, and some sold the Tīrthas⁸⁵. Women used to abandon their poor husbands and go to the rich⁸⁶. They became prone to enjoyment, were lax about moral character⁸⁷, and disobeyed their husbands⁸⁸. They were selfish, remained unclean and told lies⁸⁹. They were wicked, and always hankered after union with wicked people⁹⁰. The life and property of the people were made insecure by a remarkable increase of petty thieves, burglars and robbers⁹¹. Murder of children, women and heroes, slaughter of cows, abortion, cheating, misery, diseases, devastation etc prevailed⁹² and vitiated the atmosphere.

Thus the Purāṇas give a dismal picture of the troubles of the Kali age. In spite of obvious exaggeration, this description refers to the disintegration of the social fabric, on account of the vigour of Buddhism from the time of Aśoka Maurya, the position of the Sūdras as kings and perhaps also as high state officers, and the settlement of the immoral and casteless nomads, viz, Śakas, Pahlavas and Abhīras.

The picture of the Hindu society, which the Jātakas present, is in many respects similar to that found in the Purāṇas. A study of the Jātakas creates in us the impression that 'the world of India

⁸² Also cf. Kūr I, 29, 13 which reads 'aṇṇitāksāh'

⁸³ Vā 58, 42; Bd II, 31, 48; Vis VI, 1, 34

⁸⁴ Kūr I, 29, 12; Bd (II, 31, 50) reads 'śva-śulā dvayās tathā'.

⁸⁵ Vā 58, 64b-65a; Bd II, 31, 65; Kūr I, 29, 16; and Mat 144, 40b.

⁸⁶ Viṣ VI, 1, 18.

⁸⁷ Vis VI, 1, 21

⁸⁸ Viṣ VI, 1, 29b.

⁸⁹ Viṣ VI, 1, 30.

⁹⁰ Vis VI, 1, 31.

⁹¹ Vā 58, 60; Bd II, 31, 60b-61a; Kūr I, 29, 14.

⁹² Mat 144, 43-46; Vā 58, 67-69; Bd II, 31, 68-70; Kūr I, 29, 15.

was one in which the ancient priestly caste had lost its authority, that nobles and merchants were more regarded than Brāhmins⁹³, and that the people, not excepting even the Brāhmins often did not care to set much store by the Brahmanical rules of castes and Āśramas⁹⁴. The Brāhmins were often found to follow professions which were against the prescriptions of the 'lawbooks' Thus, for earning their livelihood, they became caravan-guards agriculturists, goatherds and cowherds, hawkers, carpenters, snake-charmers, hunters, carriage-drivers, wheelwrights, archers or weavers, without incurring any social stigma Sometimes they mastered, or pretended to be masters of, astrology, palmistry, magic etc. for earning money The Brāhmins, who were employed as state officials, were sometimes found guilty of misconduct for the sake of money⁹⁵. There are indications in the Jātakas that among the Ksatriyas and the middle classes also the pursuance of the hereditary profession was not compulsory, and the change of vocations was of common occurrence⁹⁶.

In the India of the Jātakas the gulf between the different castes was narrowed to a great extent. There are many instances in which the members of different castes—princes, Brāhmins, Śresthins—are found to form friendship, to interdine, to intermarry and to send their sons to the same teacher, there being no reflection passed on them for doing so⁹⁷. That such contamination of castes was in progress in the early centuries of the Christian era is also evidenced by the Nasik inscription of Rājā Vasisthīputra Śrī Pulumāyī in which he is said to have 'stopped the contamination of the four Varnas' (*vimvatita-cātuvana-sakarasa*)⁹⁸.

Buddhism encouraged Pravrajyā (wandering mendicancy) for the attainment of Nirvāna, and, as a result, the order of the four stages of life was often violated. The Jātakas contain numerous examples of Ksatriyas and Brāhmins who turned wandering mendicants immediately after studentship⁹⁹. The people believed that the whole family was sanctified if any of its members accepted Pravrajyā, and consequently parents and relatives sometimes

⁹³ CHI, Vol I, p. 221. Fick, Social Organisation, pp 89 ff Cf also Viṣ VI, 1, 19 ⁹⁴ CHI, Vol I, p 210.

⁹⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 203-204 and 209.

Isan Chandra Ghosh, Jātaka, Vol II, Upakramanikā, pp. 11-12. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 56-57

⁹⁶ Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 56 ff CHI, Vol I, p. 210

⁹⁷ CHI, Vol. I, p 209.

⁹⁸ Ep. Ind, VIII, 1903-1906, pp 60-61.

⁹⁹ See Samṛddhi-jātaka—Fausböll, No. 167; Lomaśa-kāśyapa-jātaka—Fausböll, No. 433; Kṛṣṇa-jātaka—Fausböll, No. 440; and Śopananda-jātaka—Fausböll, No. 532.

instigated their wards to become wandering mendicants¹⁰⁰ The wandering life was not restricted among the Brāhmins and the Kṣatriyas. People of other castes also were equally free to accept it. The Bodhisattva in the Kalyāṇadharmā-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 171) was a Śreṣṭhin of Benares; Kuddāla-pandita in the Kuddāla-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 70) was a Parnika, Mātanga in the Mātanga-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 497), and Citta and Sambhūta in the Citta-sambhūta-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 498) were Candīlas; and Dukūlaka in the Śyāma-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 540) was a Niṣāda.

Buddhism allowed more freedom to women especially in religious matters, and thus became instrumental to their advancement. The attractive power of Buddha's Dhamma was felt as well by women as by men. With the hope of better rebirth, or the total annihilation of it, the former often renounced the world and accepted the more rigorous life of the Bhikkhunis¹⁰¹. We should mention here that the Śvetāmbara Jains also gave women admission into their order. This is shown especially by the frequent mention of nuns in the Mathurā inscriptions. The freedom which Buddhism and Jainism thus allowed to women could not but make them have, at least in a good number of cases, a far greater attraction for these two faiths than for Hinduism.

About the conduct of the Śūdras we know little from Buddhist literature. That a strained relation existed between them and the Brāhmins during this period, is evident from Manu who says "Let (the first part of) a Brāhman's name (denote something) auspicious, a Kṣatriya's be connected with power, and a Vaiśya's with wealth, but a Śūdra's (express something) contemptible"¹⁰². The selection of such a name for the Śūdra seems to be the outcome of great enmity and deep hatred.

We have given above the accounts of Indian society as gathered from two opposite sources—one Purāṇic and the other Buddhist. The similarity between the two accounts is very great. In numerous cases what the Purāṇas formulate, the Jātakas seem to illustrate. This striking agreement between the two accounts proves that they are not so much imaginary as we may take them to be, but have some historical value. These accounts show that the authority of the Vedas was often not recognised, the Varṇāśramadharmā was neglected, and there was a remarkable increase in the number of Saṃnyāsins and Parivrājakas. The

¹⁰⁰ See Cullaśreṣṭhi-jātaka—Fausböll, No. 4; Asūta-mantra-jātaka—Fausböll, No. 61; and Saṃstava-jātaka—Fausböll, No. 162.

¹⁰¹ Bimala Charan Law, *Women in Buddhist Literature*, pp. 66 ff.

¹⁰² *Manu-smṛti* II, 81.

social position of the orthodox Brāhmans was much lowered, and there was a gradual decrease in their numerical strength, many of them being influenced by the non-Brahmanical ideas and practices. The Śūdras became defiant of the upper three castes, and often went out of the Hindu fold to the great disadvantage of their co-religionists, especially the Brāhmans. Women became prone to demoralisation, and many of them took up the wandering life and thus created disadvantages to their families. In short, the condition of Brahmanism became very insecure. Consequently, the Brahmanists felt it necessary to make an attempt to re-establish the Varnāśramadharma, the authority of the Vedas, and the moral rules among women, Śūdras, and those members of the upper three castes who, being influenced by the faiths other than Brahmanism, disregarded the Vedas and violated the rules of the Varnāśramadharma. This attempt seems to have been made by two sections of people in two different ways, viz., by the orthodox Brahmanists who first began to preach the performance of Grhya rites through Smṛti works, and by the more numerous Smārta-Vaiṣṇavas and Smārta-Śaivas who introduced Smṛti materials into the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas to preach Vaisnavism and Śaivism as against the heretical religions and also to establish the Varnāśramadharma, the authority of the Vedas, and the moral rules not only among the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas but also among others. That this intention was at the base of the introduction of Smṛti-matter into the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas is evidenced by the Purāṇas themselves. The Bhāgavata-p. says: "Women, Śūdras and the mean twice-born are unfit for hearing the Vedas, and are, therefore, ignorant of performing, in this world, the good (in the shape of) work, for this reason, the sage, by (his) grace, compiled the legend of Bhārata, with a view that their good in this behalf may be effected"¹⁰³; and "Verily, pretending (to compile) the Bhārata, I have pointed out the meaning of the Vedas, and in which (said Bhārata) can surely be found the meaning of (all those subjects of which) Dharma is the first, even by women, Śūdras and others"¹⁰⁴. The Devībhāgavata says: "Women, Śūdras and the mean twice-born (dvija-bandhu) are not entitled to hear the Vedas; it is only for their good that the Purāṇas have been written"¹⁰⁵. The contents of the Mahābhārata and the earlier Purāṇas (viz., Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Viṣṇu) as compared with those of the later Purāṇas seem also to betray such a motive of their authors. It

¹⁰³ Bhāg I, 4, 25.¹⁰⁴ Bhāg I, 4, 29.¹⁰⁵ Dbh I, 3, 21.

should be noted here that this attempt of the Smārta devotees of the different gods to preach their respective faiths with a view to establishing the Varnāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas was responsible for giving rise to Purāṇic Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Brahmāism, Śāktism etc as distinct from their popular prototypes¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ By popular Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Brahmāism we mean those types of these religions which were current among the common people, were regardless of the Brahmanical rules of castes and stages, and imbibed Tantric practices. Popular Śāktism is the Śāktism of the Tantras.

CHAPTER II

THE HINDU SOCIETY FROM THE 3RD TO THE 6TH CENTURY A.D., AND THE PURANIC RITES AND CUSTOMS IN THE SECOND STAGE OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT

When the Brahmanists and the Smārta sectaries began their attempts to re-establish the Varnāśramadharmā, the authority of the Vedas, and the moral rules, they were confronted by a fresh set of troubles which were no less vigorous than those already mentioned. These troubles were caused by the foreign invasions from the north-west and by the spread and popularity of Trāṇtricism.

After the reign of the Kushan king Vāsudeva, Northern India, excluding the Punjab, entered upon one of the darkest periods of her history. This period extended from the downfall of the Kushan and Āndhra dynasties, about 220 or 230 A.D., to the rise of the Imperial Guptas¹. 'The period evidently was one of extreme confusion associated with foreign invasions from the north-west, which is reflected in the muddled statements of the Purāṇas concerning the Ābhīras, Gardabhillas, Śakas, Yavanas, Bāhlikas and other outlandish dynasties named as the successors of the Āndhras. The dynasties thus enumerated clearly were to a large extent contemporary with one another, not consecutive, and none of them could claim paramount rank'². The accounts of the foreign invaders contained in the Purāṇas seem, at times, to be supported by the inscriptions. A Nasik inscription³ of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, shows that in Mahārāṣṭra 'the Āndhras were succeeded by a dynasty of the Ābhīras'⁴. In the

¹ Smith, EHI, p. 292.

² Ibid, p. 290. Also cf. Rapson, Cat of Ind. Coins in the Brit. Mus, Introduction, p. 45.

³ Ep. Ind., VIII, 1905-6, p. 88

⁴ Rapson, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 44. D. R. Bhandarkar in Ind Ant, Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 156.

inscription Śivadatta is not called a king, so it seems that Īśvarasena was an upstart. This Īśvarasena has been identified with a king named Īśvaiadatta, whose coins have been found in Malwa, Gujiat and Kathiawar, and who is looked upon as an Ābhīra intruder⁵ Īśvaradatta has been assigned by D. R. Bhandarkar to A D 188-190⁶. That the Ābhīras became powerful about this time is also shown by the Gunda inscription of Rudrasimha I (about 180 A D) which 'records a donation made at the village of Rasopadra by the Ābhīra General (senāpati) Rudrabhūti, son of General Bāhaka'⁷.

The conduct of the foreign invaders and the disturbance they created in society are described in the Purāṇas, viz., Vāyu (99, 387-412), Brahmānda (III, 74, 190-214), Matsya (273, 25-33), Viṣṇu (IV, 24, 18-25) and Bhāgavata (XII, 1, 38-41). In order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of these Purāṇic descriptions we give below the translation of Vis IV, 24, 18-25

"These will all be contemporary monarchs reigning over the earth, kings of churlish spirit, violent temper, and ever addicted to falsehood and unrighteousness. They will inflict death on women, children and cows, they will seize upon the property of others, they will be of limited power, and will, for the most part, rapidly rise and fall, their lives will be short, their desires insatiable: and they will display but little Dharma. The people of various countries will intermingle with them and follow their example; and the barbarians, being powerful under the patronage of princes, and the purer tribes, acting in a contrary manner (*viparyayena vartamānāḥ*), will destroy the people. Wealth and piety will decrease day by day, until the world will be wholly depraved. Then property alone will confer rank; wealth will be the only source of Dharma; passion will be the sole bond of union between the sexes; falsehood will be the only means of success in litigation; and women will be objects merely of sexual gratification. The Earth will be venerated but for her mineral treasures; the Brahmanical thread will constitute a Brāhman; external types will be the only distinctions of the several orders of life; dishonesty will be the (universal) means of subsistence; weakness will be the cause of dependence; menace and presumption will be substituted for learning; liberality will constitute Dharma; simple ablution will be purification; mutual assent will be marriage; fine clothes will be dignity; and water or a temple afar off will be

⁵ Rapson, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 133-136 Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, 1913, p. 156 JRAS, 1890, p. 657.

⁶ ASI, Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 230.

⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, 1881, p. 157.

esteemed as a holy place (tīrtha). Amidst all castes, he who is the strongest will reign over a principality thus vitiated by many faults. The people, unable to bear the heavy burdens imposed upon them by their avaricious sovereigns, will take refuge amongst the valleys of the mountains, and will be glad to feed upon (wild) honey, herbs, roots, fruits, leaves and flowers, their only covering will be the bark of trees, and they will be exposed to the cold, and wind, and sun, and rain. No man's life will exceed three and twenty years. Thus, in the Kali age, shall decay constantly proceed, until the human race approaches its annihilation".

Such is the description given by the Purāṇas. What we specially gather from this description is that, as a result of political unrest and of the intercourse of the people with casteless and unmoral foreigners, famine and pestilence broke out, people became regardless of the Śrauta and Smārta Dharma, and immorality spread. Though exaggeration is not at all impossible in the Purāṇic descriptions, the numerous verses found common in those portions of the Purāṇas which deal with the evils of the foreign invasions show that they are not purely the productions of the fanciful brains of later interpolators but are derived from a common source which must be very old, and that the people believed deeply in the truth of this source.

After this period of anarchy had been over, light again dawned with the rise of the imperial Guptas. Under these powerful Hindu monarchs the people lived happily and peacefully, Brahmanical Hinduism was restored to popular favour, and the condition of the Brāhmins was improved both socially and economically. The period of the Guptas can be called a golden age for the Brāhmins, but that golden age also was destined to have its end. The decline of the Gupta power was followed by the irruption of the casteless and savage nomads, known as the Hūnas, under the leadership of Toramāna, who became the ruler of Malwa. After his death about 502 A.D., he was succeeded by his son Mihiragula, who was too notorious for his implacable cruelty. That at least during the time of the decline of the Gupta power and the reigns of the Hūna sovereigns the Brahmanical rules of conduct were disregarded, is proved by the Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yaśodharman^s, which says :

"(Line 2).—He, to whose arm, as if (to the arm) of (the god) Śārṅgapāṇi, the earth betook itself (for succour), when it was afflicted by kings of the present age, who manifested pride; who were cruel through want of proper training; who, from

^s Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 146-148.

delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct (*laṅghitācāra-mārgaṃ mohāt*), (and) who were destitute of virtuous delights —

(Line 3).—He who, in this age which is the ravisher of good behaviour not associating with other kings who adopted a reprehensible course of conduct (*nindyā-cāreṣu yo 'smin vinayamuḥ yuge kalpanā-mātra-vrttyā rājasv anyesu*)

A further indication in this direction is contained in the Betul inscription (dated 518-519 A.D.) of Mahārāja Samksobha wherein he is said to have been intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life (*varnāśramadharmasthāpanābhūratena*)⁹.

After the defeat of Mihiragula by Yaśodharman about 528 A.D., India enjoyed 'almost complete immunity from foreign attack for nearly five centuries'¹⁰, after which the Muhammadans disturbed the peace of the country with invasions and occupations. With these, however, we are not concerned here

We have seen how, after the end of the Kushan rule with the death of Vāsudeva, the position of the Brahmanical religion and the Brāhmins was made insecure by the foreign monarchies. We shall now turn our attention to the other more dangerous source of trouble, viz., Tantricism.

It is not yet definitely known how and when Tantricism arose, but that it is of considerable antiquity cannot be denied. It is purely of non-Vedic origin. Its ideas and practices also are non-Vedic. In its early character it does not seem to have recognised the Varnāśramadharm and the authority of the Vedas, though in later times it could not totally ignore these.

From about the beginning of the fifth century A.D., if not earlier, the Vaiṣnavas, and probably also the Śaivas, came to be influenced by Tantricism. The extant Samhitās of the Pāñcarātras are perhaps the earliest available records of this influence. How dangerously the Tantric ideas and practices influenced the Pāñcarātras we shall see from an examination of the contents of the Jayākhyā-samhitā which has been assigned by B. Bhattacharya to about 450 A.D. on the strength of doctrinal and palaeographical evidences¹¹.

The Jayākhyā-samhitā is looked upon 'by the Vaiṣnavas as one of the three most ancient and most authoritative works of the Pāñcarātra Āgama', the other two being the Sāttvata- and the

⁹ Ep Ind, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 287-288.

¹⁰ Smith, EHI, p. 341.

¹¹ Jayākhyā-samhitā, Foreword, pp. 26-34.

Pauskara-samhitā It is divided into 33 Patalas, or chapters, dealing with creation, dissertations on the Mantras, oblations to Fire (agni-kārya), initiation, consecration of images or pictures, investiture with the sacred thread (pavitrārōpana), the different types of Vaiṣnavas and their characteristics, funeral ceremony, cremation of the dead, penances, attainment of supernatural powers by muttering spells, and Yoga. All these rites and practices, not excepting even those which are Vedic in origin, are highly imbued with Tantric elements. The method of bath (Patala IX), without which none is entitled to take part in any religious rite, is full of Tantric practices. The Tantric spell, called Astra-mantra, is to be used in procuring bathing soil, in sanctifying that part of the river-bank where the soil is kept, in consecrating the sacred thread, in taking lumps of mud which are thrown in all directions to allay the impediments of bath, and so on. Mantra-nyāsa and Mudrās are to be performed with a view to sanctifying the water which, flowing or stagnant, may have been polluted by insects. The Mūla-mantra is to be used in purifying a lump of mud which is then to be thrown into water in order to bring thence the holy places, viz., Prayāga, Cakra-tīrtha, Prabhāsa, Puskara etc., and the holy waters of the Gangā and the Yamunā. Towards the end of the bath the man is to sit in water, practise Prāṇāyāma accompanied with the performance of Mudrās, meditate on the deity, and give libations to the patriarchs. After bath he is to put on dry clothes and offer libations of water to the gods, sages etc. This method of bath is called Audaka-snāna, i.e., bath in water. In the Mantra-snāna (i.e., bath with the spell) also Nyāsas and Mudrās are to be performed.

After the bath is over, the man is to practise Samādhi (Patala X) and Mantra-nyāsa (Patala XI), the latter requiring the performance of the Mudrā also.

Then comes the worship of Viṣṇu which consists of the Mānasa-yāga (mental worship—Patala XII), Bāhya-yāga (external worship—Patala XIII), Japa (muttering of the Mantra—Patala XIV) and Agni-kārya (oblations to Fire—Patala XV). The mental worship has many Tantric elements, viz., Mantra-nyāsa, Mudrā etc. The method of external worship also is highly Tantric. It abounds in Tantric Mantras, Yantras, Maṇḍalas, Nyāsas, Mudrās, Bhūta-suddhi etc. There is no necessity of making gifts or paying priestly fees to Brāhmins. The Agni-kārya, in which Viṣṇu is worshipped on fire and which is sometimes called Homa, is much more of a Tantric than Vedic character. It consists of various operations, viz., Kuṇḍa-saṃskāra, Mekhalā-pūjana etc., which require the citation of Tantric Mantras (Mūla-mantra, Astra-Mantra, Hṛdaya-mantra,

Kavaca-mantra, Netra-mantra, etc.) and the performance of Mudrās. The whole procedure is peculiar, and has not much similarity with its Vedic prototype. It is noteworthy that no Vedic Mantra, except the syllable 'Om', is used throughout the whole function.

The method of initiation, described in Patalas XVI-XIX, is purely Tantric. It consists of parts which have been derived from, or influenced by, the Tantras. It is open to all the members of the four castes, not even excepting women and children. In this form of initiation the position of the spiritual preceptor is not the monopoly of Brāhmins. It is true that Brāhman preceptors are generally preferred, but where such preceptors are not available, worthy people of the other three castes also are allowed to act as such for those belonging to their own respective castes or to those inferior to their own.

The methods of Devatā-pratiṣṭhā and Pavitrāropana, which are dealt with in Patalas XX and XXI, have also many Tantric elements.

The method of Śrāddha (Patala XXIII), though Vedic in origin, is, as found in the Jayākhyā, much less Vedic than Tantric. The firm belief of the Pāñcarātras in the magic power of the Tantric spells and practices, and their great devotion to Viṣṇu have found their way even into this Vedic rite. Consequently, the procedures have been changed without caring for the directions of the Vedic authorities; some innovations have been made; citations of Tantric formulae instead of the Vedic ones, and the performance of Mudrās and Nyāsas are required at every step; the patriarchs are to be meditated upon as identical with the Vyūha-forms (Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Samkarsana and Vāsudeva) of Viṣṇu and worshipped; and so on. Only the Pāñcarātra Vaiṣnavas are to be invited in the ceremony, and gifts are to be made to them only.

Patala XXIV, which deals with the cremation of a dead body, exhibits Tantric influence in the worship which is required before cremation and in the rites ancillary to it. It does not involve making gifts to anybody.

In Prāyaścitta (Patala XXV) the Pāñcarātras are not at all guided by the authorities of the Vedic schools. While the Vedic Aryans subject themselves to severe punishments and self-torture to atone for the crimes committed, the Pāñcarātras take recourse, for purification in all cases, to the magic power of the sectarian Mantras, so deep-rooted their belief in these Mantras is. Whatever heinous crimes a Vaiṣṇava may commit, he is sure to be free from sin, according to the Pāñcarātras, by muttering a sectarian Mantra, the peculiarity being that the nature of the Mantra and the number

of mutterings differ with the nature of the crime. In some cases, of course, the Pāñcarātras are found to perform Homa and observe certain rules about food and bath while muttering the Mantras, but these rules are nothing in comparison with the strictness of those of the Brahmanical lawbooks. Let us cite one example or two for the sake of comparison. In the case of adultery with the wife of one's Guru,—a crime which is included in the Mahāpātakas or great sins by the Vedic lawgivers,—Gautama says: "One, who has defiled the bed of his Guru, shall lie on a heated bed of iron. Or (he) shall embrace the iron image of a woman glowing with heat. Or (he) shall cut off his generative organ together with testicles, hold these in his hands, and walk straight towards the south-west till his body collapses. If dead, (he) becomes pure"¹². According to the Jayākhya-samhitā (XXV, 31-35), a Pāñcarātra Vaisnava, who is guilty of this crime, is to mutter the Nṛsimha-mantra, the number of mutterings varying as the crime is voluntary or otherwise. He is also to live on alms and remain silent during the muttering. After the muttering is over, he is to perform Yāga (i.e., worship) and Homa. Again, in the case of the murder of a Brāhman Gautama ordains: "The murderer of a Brāhman shall fall, (after being) emaciated, thrice into a fire. Or (he) shall be the target for armed men in a battle. Or, remaining chaste, he may, during twelve years, enter the village for the purpose of begging, carrying a staff and a skull in his hand, and proclaiming his deed. If he meets an Ārya, he shall step out of the road. Standing by day, sitting at night, and bathing in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, he may be purified (after twelve years). Or by saving the life of a Brāhman. Or if he is, at least, thrice vanquished in (trying to recover) the property (of a Brāhman) stolen (by robbers). Or by bathing (with the priests) at (the end of) a horse-sacrifice. Or at (the end of) any other (Vedic) sacrifice, provided that an Agnistut (sacrifice) forms part of it"¹³. But the Jayākhya-samhitā (XXV, 23-26a) says in such a case: "By murdering a Brāhman voluntarily, (the sinner) should mutter the Siṃha-mantra untiringly and incessantly for two years, take a small quantity of food procured without asking for it, bathe thrice (daily), and perform Nyāsas. After the expiry of two years, (he) should go to a holy place or a temple and practise the vows Kṛcchra, Cāndrāyana etc. according to his capacity. When the vows are over, (he) should be initiated again after the Nava-nābha (fashion). He should give away all his belongings to his preceptor and, with the latter's permission, to the devotees (of

¹² Gaut. XXIII, 8-11.

¹³ Ibid., XXII, 2-10.

Viṣṇu)". In penances no gifts are to be made to Brāhmins—priests or otherwise. In the three cases, viz., the wilful murder of a Brāhman, the killing of a cow, and the commission of mistakes in citing the Mantra during worship etc., where gifts are ordained, the recipients are not Brāhmins. In the first case, the sinner is to give away all his belongings to his preceptor and, with the latter's permission, to other Vaiṣṇavas, in the second, he is to give two cows to his preceptor; and in the third, he is to make twelve kinds of gifts (cows, food, gold, gems etc.) to twelve Ācāryas.

The Jayākhyā-saṃhitā ignores priesthood and gifts to non-Pāñcarātra Brāhmins. If the help and co-operation of anybody are needed, he is the preceptor, and to the preceptor the gifts often go. The other recipients of gifts are the Ācāryas, Yatis, Āptas, Ekāntins, Vaikhānasas, etc.—all belonging to the Pāñcarātra sect. In Śrāddha the Pāñcarātras only are invited, and gifts are made to them only. Generally gifts do not form part of penances. In the three cases where gifts are ordained, the recipients are, as we have seen above, the preceptors or the Ācāryas. The method of consecration of an image (Patala XX) requires that at the beginning four Ācāryas or Sādhanas are to be honoured with cloth etc. During consecration, the Brāhmins (probably of the Pāñcarātra sect) are to be called upon to cite verses from the four Vedas, and the preceptor, the Yatis, the Āptas, the Ekāntins and others also are to be invited to attend. All these people are to be honoured with scents, flowers, food, priestly fees, etc. In Pavitrāropana (Patala XXI), the preceptor, who is said to be like Viṣṇu, is to be honoured with fees, food and drink, and gifts are to be made to the Vaiṣṇavas, viz., the Yatis, Āptas, Vaikhānasas and others, there being made no distinction of castes but the merits of making gifts increasing as the caste is higher. By gifts of land, money, houses etc. made to the Vaikhānasas, Karma-sāttvatas, Śikhins and householders—all belonging to the Pāñcarātra sect—for the worship of Viṣṇu, the donor is said to attain final release or to repair to the place of the Bhagavat (Jayākhyā XXII, 19-22).

The Pāñcarātras attach more importance to their own sectarian scriptures than to the Vedas. If they are required to read anything with devotion, it is the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, because their aim is to gain knowledge of Vāsudeva, the 'final Truth'. The Jayākhyā (I, 13-14) says: "In case the final Truth remains unknown, there can be no permanent residence in heaven—not to speak of freedom from bondage—through (the) mere (performance of) sacrifices, mastering the Vedas, (making) gifts, working, or observing various vows such as the Cāndrāyana etc." The study of the Vedas is meant by the Pāñcarātras for a mere acquaintance

with the contents of these works. Aparārka quotes a passage from a Pāñcarātra Samhitā to show that the Pāñcarātras read the Vedas for mere knowledge¹⁴.

A strong belief in the magic power of the Tantric Mantras permeates the whole of the Jayākhyā-samhitā. Long chapters have been devoted to dissertations on these. It is difficult to find out any Mantra which is not Tantric. These Tantric Mantras are believed to have the power of conferring Bhukti (enjoyment) and Mukti (final release)¹⁵. This belief is at the basis of the use of some Mantras for Vaśikarana, Mārana, etc., and for the different kinds of Sādhana (viz., Yakṣmī-sādhana, Gulikā-sādhana etc.), and for attaining Brahma which is called 'mantra-mūrti'

The above analysis of the contents of the Jayākhyā-samhitā clearly shows the non-Brahmanical character of the ideas, rites and practices of the Pāñcarātras of the Samhitās. The contents of other Samhitās also are in general agreement with those of the Jayākhyā

It is not yet known when the Śaivas began to be influenced by Tantricism and to produce the Āgamas. That the Tantric influence began to be imbibed by them quite early cannot be denied. None of the Śaiva Āgamas of this period being yet available to us *in toto*, we are almost in total darkness about their contents¹⁶. We shall, therefore, have to look to other sources for information about these Āgamic Śaivas who are distinct from the Pāśupatas. There is a story in the Bengal Mss of the Padma-purāṇa¹⁷, according to which Citrasena, a descendant of the Lunar race and king of the land of the Drāvidas, was at first a man of virtue and performed many sacrifices, but was afterwards converted by the Śaivas to their faith. In this story the Śaivas are described as 'veda-bāhya' and 'pāsanda'. They are said to preach as follows: "What (is the necessity) of gifts, or other vows, or the Vedas, or the sacrifices? The status of a Ganapati is sure to be attained as soon as the ashes are besmeared (on the body) . . . (There is) no virtue like the ashes, no austerity like these The blind, the humpbacked, the stupid, the illiterate or the (members of the different) castes such as the Śūdra, if (they are) characterised by matted hair, are undoubtedly worthy of respect. Viśvāmitra, though a Kṣatriya, became a Brāhman by austerity.

¹⁴ Aparārka's com on Yāj, p 16 ¹⁵ Jayākhyā-samhitā VI, 4.

¹⁶ According to tradition there were 28 Śaiva Āgamas. 'Only fragments of 20 Āgamas have been preserved. Portions of two Upāgamas, Mrgendra and Pauskara, are printed' Cf Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, pp. 204 ff.

¹⁷ *Mūḡha-māhātmya*, Uttara-kh, Ms No. 931 (dated 1311 Śaka) in the D. U. Mss Lib.

Vālmīki, a thief, became the foremost of Brāhmins. So, no discrimination should be made in this matter by the Śiva-worshippers. (One) becomes a Brāhmin by means of austerity, and the determination of castes should be made in this way". From this it appears that these Śaivas cared little for the Vedas or the Brahmanical rules of castes and duties. From their view of castes and from the cosmopolitan nature of their faith it seems that they did not recognise priesthood also.

The Tantric elements in the Pāñcarātra Samhitās and the Śaiva Āgamas, and the evidence of the Gangdhar stone inscription of Viśvavarman¹⁸ prove that the Tantric cult attained popularity at a very early period. It is not, however, known when the Tantras began to be written. The discovery of a Ms of the Kubjikāmata-tantra written in Gupta characters proves that Tantric works began to be composed not later than the 7th century A.D.

The spread and popularity of the Tantric cult even among the Brāhmins and Kṣatriyas¹⁹ were not at all favourable to the Brahmanical religion, because there are serious differences between the Tantra and the works of the Vedic tradition. 'In the first place the Śāstra (i.e., Tantra) contains provisions which are applicable for all without distinction of race, castes or sex. The Śāstra affords to all, with freedom from Vaidika exclusiveness, the practical method which qualifies the Sādhaka for the reception of the higher doctrine of the path of knowledge (Jñāna-mārga). The Śūdra and women are not, as in the case of Vaidikācāra, under any ban. As the Gautamīya Tantra (Chapter I) says, people of all castes, and whether men or women, may receive its Mantras In the Cakra there is no caste at all, even the lowest Cāṇḍāla being deemed, whilst therein, higher than Brāhmins. The Mahānirvāṇa Tantra (XIV, verses 187 and 184) says: 'That low Kaula who refuses to initiate a Cāṇḍāla or

¹⁸ This inscription is dated about 424-425 A.D. Among the verses inscribed on it, there are two which run as follows:—

"mātr(tṛ)nāñca (pramu)ḍita-ghanātyartha- nihrāḍinām|
tantrodbhūta-prabala-pavanodvartitāmbhoniḍhīnām||
. gatam idaṃ dākinī-samprakīrnam|
veśmātyugram nṛpati-sacivo 'kārayat punya-hetoḥ||"

'Also, for the sake of religious merit, the counsellor of the king caused to be built this very terrible abode, (and) filled with female ghouls, of the divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (and) who stir up the (very) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion'.

Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 76 and 78.

¹⁹ Cf. Kūr I, 29, 25.

a Yavana into the Kaula-dharma, considering him to be inferior, or a woman, out of disrespect for her, goes the downward way. All two-footed beings in this world, from the Vipra to the inferior castes, are competent for Kulācāra'²⁰ According to the Tantras worthy women can serve as spiritual preceptors under certain conditions²¹ The freedom, which the Tantras allow to the members of all castes in worshipping the deities, seriously discourages priesthood The rituals, which are all non-Vedic, do not require gifts to be made to Brāhmans The circle-worship of the Left-hand Śāktas is really repulsive and demoralising It requires, among other things, an equal number of men and women without distinction of caste or relationship, and the partaking of the five Tattvas, viz, wine, meat, fish, parched grain and sexual intercourse. The Tantriks believe in sorcery which may be meant for either white or black purposes.

The ideas, rites and practices of the Pāñcarātras, the Āgamic Śaivas and the Tantriks that have been described above, amply testify to their non-Brahmanical, or rather anti-Brahmanical, character. The spread of such ideas, rites and practices among the people could not but affect Brahmanism very seriously So, the authors of the Purāṇas could not remain satisfied with introducing only those Smṛti-topics which came within the scope of the earlier Smṛti Samhitās; but they deemed it necessary to add chapters on Pūjā, Vrata, Homa, Samdhyā, Utsarga etc., which they rendered free from Tantric elements as far as practicable and infused with Vedic rituals. The occurrence of these topics in the comparatively late Purāṇas, or parts thereof, and the way in which the Purāṇas denounce the scriptures (not even excepting those of their respective sects) which imbibed Tantric influence, tend to support the above view. In Kūr I, 12, which was undoubtedly interpolated by the Smārta-Śāktas (i.e., those Śāktas who, like the Smārta-Vaiṣnavas and Smārta-Śaivas, worshipped the Tantric deities, but observed the Smṛti rules with equal devotion), the literatures of the Kāpālas, Bhairavas, Yāmālas, Vāmas, Ārhatas, Kāpilas, Pāñcarātras and 'many others of this type' are called 'śruti-smṛti-viruddha' and are said to be intended to delude those who mislead others²². On the other hand, Devī is made to say in this very chapter: "Sacrifices etc., which are ordained by Śruti and Smṛti, are known as Dharma. Nothing else is the source of Dharma; it is the Veda from which Dharma originated"²³. In Kūr I, 16, which was added

²⁰ Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. lxx-lxx.

²¹ *Tantrasāra*, edited and published by Pañca-śikha Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta, p. 8

²² Kūr I, 12, 257-259.

²³ Kūr I, 12, 251b-252.

by the Pāsupatas, the Śāstras of Kāpālas, Nākulās, Vāmas, Bhairavas, Pūrva-pāścimas, Pāñcarātras, Pāsupatas (i.e., Āgamic Śaivas) and others are said to have been meant for the delusion of those outside the pale of the Vedas²⁴. Similarly, in Kūr II, 37, 146-147, II, 21, 32 and II, 16, 15, all of which were added by the Pāsupatas, the scriptures of the Vāmas, Pāsupatas (i.e., Āgamic Śaivas), Lāngalas, Bhairavas, Pāñcarātras and others are said to be delusive, and the sectaries are called 'Pāsandas' with whom none is advised to speak. In the Devibhāgavata, which belongs to the Smārta-Śāktas, Devī says to Himālaya. "What is ordained by Śruti and Smṛti is called Dharma. What the other scriptures say is the shadow of Dharma. The Veda arose from my omniscient and omnipotent self The king should banish from his kingdom those outlaws who forsake the Veda-dharma and take recourse to another The various other Śāstras found on earth, which are contradictory to Śruti and Smṛti, are Tāmasa pure and simple. Śiva composed the scriptures of the Vāmas, Kāpālikas, Kaulas and Bhairavas with the only intention of delusion. For the deliverance of those best Brāhmanas who were burnt by the curses of Dakṣa, Bhṛgu and Dadhīca and were caused to deviate from the path of the Vedas, the Āgamas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣnavas, Sauras, Śāktas and Gāṇapatyas were written as steps (sopāna) by Śaṃkara. In some places of these works there are some portions which do not go against the Vedas. By accepting these (portions) the Vaidikas do not incur sin"²⁵.

From the above discussion about the different religious movements and the foreign invasions it appears that the composite (vyāmiśra) character of the present Purāṇas is due to the attempt made by the Smārta Brāhman sectaries to preach and popularise their respective faiths against the heresies, and to establish the Brahmanical rules of castes and duties and the authority of the Vedas among the followers of at least their respective religions. It is to be noted that the composite Dharma, which the extant Purāṇas preach, has never been allowed by the orthodox Brahmanists to be identified with their own. However much the Smārta sectaries may have exalted the Purāṇic Dharma, it has been regarded by the orthodox Brahmanists as only inferior to the Vedic. As an example we may quote Vyāsa who says:

*"dharma-śuddhim abhīpsadbhir na vedād anyad iṣyate|
dharmasya kāraṇaṃ śuddhaṃ miśraṃ anyat prakīrtitam||*

²⁴ Kūr I. 16, 115-117.

²⁵ Dbh VII, 39, verses 15-16a, 25a-b and 26-31. Also cf. XI, 1, 21-32.

*atah sa paramo dharmo yo vedād avagamyate|
avarah sa tu vijñeyo yah purānādīsu sthitaḥ||*"²⁶

'Nothing other than the Veda is required by those who want purity of Dharma (The Veda) is the pure source of Dharma; others are called composite. So, the Dharma, which is derived from the Veda, is the best. But that (Dharma), which is contained in the Purāṇas etc., is known to be inferior'. So, it is evident that the orthodox Brahmanists (i.e., those followers of Brahmanism who performed the Śrauta and Smārta rites only but did not worship the sectarian deities) continued to exist side by side with the followers of Purāṇic Hinduism though there was a continuous fall in their number, and that they must have had sympathy with the popularisation of the Purāṇic Dharma.

²⁶ Vyāsa quoted in Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva, Ms No K 554 (D U Mss Lib), fol 3b, in Aparārka's com on Yāj, p 9, and in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Vol II (Vrata-khanda), Part 1, p 22

CHAPTER III

BRAHMANICAL ELEMENTS IN THE PURĀNIC TEACHINGS

In the foregoing pages we have tried to find an explanation of the rise of the composite Dharma of the Purāṇas. We have also tried to explain why in the earlier Purāṇas the Smṛti-chapters deal with Varnāśramadharmā (consisting of Varna-dharma, Āśramadharmā, Ācāra, Bhakṣyābhakṣya, Aśauca and Śrāddha), Naraka, Yuga-dharma, Karma-vipāka and Kali-svarūpa, whereas in the later Purāṇas, or in such portions thereof, the chapters on the glorification of the sectarian deities increase, and the Smṛti-chapters are added to by those on Pūjā, Vrata, Tirtha etc. We shall now see how and to what extent the Purāṇic Brāhmins tried to establish the Varnāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas, and how much of the Vedic rituals they translated into those of the Purāṇas.

In the Purāṇas the Śruti and Smṛti are regarded as authorities on Karman (or Dharma). The Matsya-p places Karma-yoga above Jñāna-yoga thus: "Karma-yoga is superior to a thousand Jñāna-yogas, because Jñāna-yoga arises from Karma-yoga, and through Jñāna-yoga one attains final emancipation. The divine knowledge of Brahma springs from Karma-yoga and Jñāna combined. Jñāna-yoga in its turn does not arise without Karma-yoga. Consequently, a person devoted to Karma-yoga attains to eternal truth"¹. This Karman comprises the daily performance of the five great sacrifices, subjection to the sacraments, the culture of the eight Ātma-guṇas, doing good to Brāhmins and cows with money, and the worship of the sectarian deities (Mat 52, 12 ff.) ; and its sources are the Veda and the conduct of those versed in it (Mat 52, 7b).

The work enjoined by the 'Vedas' is of two kinds—Pravṛtti-mūlaka and Nivṛtti-mūlaka. Though the Purāṇas recognise that final emancipation is attainable only through renunciation and

¹ Mat 52, 5b-7a.

Yoga (i.e., through Nivṛtti-dharma), they do not wish, unlike the Buddhists, Jains and others, that anybody and everybody should accept Saṁnyāsa (complete renunciation) spontaneously without caring whether he is fit for it or not, because such Saṁnyāsa is very harmful to society. On the other hand, the Purāṇas hold that those people who lack extreme indifference should pass through the different stages of life, performing the duties enjoined by the Smṛtis, in order to reach that stage in which he will be fit for Saṁnyāsa. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-p (chaps 95 f.) there is an interesting story which states that Prajāpati Ruci was bent on attaining final release. Consequently, he left the house and the fire, took only one meal a day, slept on the bare earth, had no self-conceit, affection or attachment, and wandered about fearless like a Saṁnyāsin. Once his Pitṛs appeared before him and convinced him that the acquisition of a wife and the performance of the daily duties of a householder are necessary for freeing oneself from the debts one owes to the gods, fathers, men and others. They added: "Evil is driven away by means of disinterested gifts and by results and enjoyments which are good or ill according to former actions. Thus no bondage befalls him who acts with a tender heart, and such action being disinterested tends not to bondage. Thus a former action done, which consists of merit and demerit, is diminished day and night by enjoyments which consist of pleasure and pain . . . among mankind"². They further continued: "Ignorance in very truth is this action thou mentionest—this maxim is not erroneous; nevertheless action is the cause undoubtedly of full acquisition of knowledge. On that view the restraint, which bad men observe because they do not perform what is enjoined, should tend immediately to final emancipation; on the contrary it produces a downward course"³. In the Devībhāgavata (I, 18 and 19) Śuka, who believed that the first three stages of life were obstacles to the attainment of Mokṣa, is instructed by Janaka to pass through all the stages in succession until he loses all attraction for the world, because 'the man who is totally free from worldly attachment is entitled to take up Saṁnyāsa, not otherwise'. Śuka, however, contends that there should be no objection if a man, even before he passes through all the stages, becomes indifferent to the world through knowledge and wants to become a Saṁnyāsin. To this Janaka says that a man, who wishes to rise high, should begin from the lowest rung of the ladder. He should pass through the stages in order and practise abstention while he is surrounded by things of enjoyment.

² Mārka 95. 14b-16.

³ Mārka 95. 19-20.

In this way he will get experienced in the real taste of wordly enjoyment and acquire greater strength of mind. Mind is the cause of bondage or release. Hence people should first try to control it by following the directions of the Veda. Mere physical abandonment of one's house and relatives cannot make one fit for final emancipation, because the physical needs continue to remain even after such abandonment, and in the forests also there are animals to attract the mind. Hence, Janaka adds, the mere acceptance of Saṁnyāsa is no guarantee for Mukti. Śuka next points out that the Vedic Dharma, by reason of its encouraging the slaughter of animals, cannot be expected to confer final release; but Janaka says that the killing of animals in sacrifices is equivalent to no killing at all, because there is no special intention on the part of the sacrificer. At last Śuka is convinced of the greatness of the Vedic Dharma. He, therefore, gives up the idea of taking up Saṁnyāsa and repairs to the hermitage of his father, Vyāsa, to live with him. There are other similar stories of great men in the Purāṇas denouncing spontaneous renunciation. These stories are clearly directed against the teachings of Buddhism and Jainism and also perhaps against those of popular Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Brahmiśm. We have said that these religions, especially the first two, attached great importance to renunciation, and, as a result, there was a great increase in the number of mendicants. The Purāṇas say that in the Kali age people 'would turn mendicants in hundreds and thousands' (cf. Kūr I, 29, 23; Vā 58. 50; and so on). Such increase of mendicants could not but affect the peace and discipline of society. So, we find that the Hindus adopted various means to check the people from giving themselves up recklessly to renunciation. Kautilya made laws thus: "When, without making provision for the maintenance of his wife and sons, any person embraces asceticism, he shall be punished with the first amercement"⁴. The authors of the Purāṇas also were not idle. They framed such stories of great men—because the conduct of the great has always the maximum of influence on the people—as would serve their purpose. They also took recourse to various other means. They glorified the service rendered to one's parents and relatives. Obedience to one's parents were said to be productive of all the fruits of Dharma (Kūr II, 12, 35). The people were advised not to do anything against their will (Kūr II, 12, 37). In the Padma-p. (Bhūmi-kh.) the parents and the spiritual preceptor are called Tīrthas, and stories are fabricated to show how one can

⁴ Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, translated into English by Dr. Shama Shastry, p. 47, *Ibid.* (text), p. 48.

attain all kinds of pleasure in this life and the next by serving them.

It has been said above that the Buddhists and Śvetāmbara Jains converted women to asceticism. According to Kautilya such conversions were to be punished with the first amercement⁵ The numerous chapters on the duties of devoted wives and the glories of the same, as found in the Purāṇas, were perhaps meant for checking women from accepting asceticism. These chapters might also have been meant for checking the demoralisation of women caused by the influence of the casteless and immoral foreigners and by the Tantric cult. How greatly the circle-worship (cakra-pūjā) of the Tantras spread among the people is shown by the Kasmirian polymath Ksemendra, who says.

*"cakra-sthītau rajaka-vāyaka-carmakāra-
kāpāluka-pramukha-śulpiḥkṛ eka-pātre|
pāṇena muktīm avikalpa-ratotsavena
vṛttena cotsavavatā guravo vadanti||"*⁶

The stories about the powers of chaste and devoted wives are full of supernatural occurrences. For instance, we may refer to the story of the Brāhman leper and his wife (Mārka 16, 14 ff.) The story runs as follows :

There was a Brāhman leper who had a very chaste and devoted wife. She served him wholeheartedly. Once the Brāhman was enamoured of a prostitute. Consequently, in order to fulfil his wishes, his wife was taking him at night to the house of the prostitute, when the leper's foot struck against the body of a sage who was lying pierced with a lance. The sage cursed him that he would die with sun-rise. At this the wife arrested the rise of the sun by virtue of her chastity, and, as a result, the whole creation was in danger. So, the gods sent Anasūyā who persuaded the leper's wife to allow the sun to rise and revived the dead leper by means of the merit gathered through service to her husband.

In the Purāṇas the second stage of life (i.e., the Gārhaṣṭhyā-śrama) is very much lauded. The Matsya-p. says : "The holy places (tīrtha) are said to be in the houses of those who (abide by the rules) of the castes and stages (of life)"⁷. The Kūrma-p. says : "The householder is the source of the (other) three stages (of life). Others live on him. Therefore, the householder is the best (of all). As it is found in the Vedas that, of the four stages of life, the householder's (is the) only stage (that is best), so the stage of the

⁵ Arthaśāstra (translated into English), p. 47. Ibid. (text), p. 48.

⁶ Daśāvatāra-carita, p. 162.

⁷ Mat 22, 80

householder should be known as the only means of attaining Dharma"⁸. In this stage of life a wife is highly necessary. Without her a householder becomes unfit for performing his daily duties and thus incurs sins. Hence, of whatever temperament the wife may be, she deserves to be protected very carefully. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* (69-72) there is a story of Uttama, who banished his wife and was not shown proper respect for this act. He was instructed by a sage thus :

"A wife is a potent cause of righteousness, wealth and love among men ; and, in particular, one who forsakes her has in sooth abandoned righteousness. A wifeless man, O king, is not fit for his own works, be he Brāhman or Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or even Śūdra. No brilliant deed didst thou do, Sir, when thou didst abandon thy wife ; for as women must not forsake a husband, so men must not forsake a wife"⁹.

In the *Padma-p.* (*Bhūmi-kh.*, chaps. 41 ff.) there is a story of one *Krkala*, who had a very chaste and devoted wife named *Sukalā*. *Krkala* left his wife at home and went out to visit the holy places. When, after some time, he was returning home he thought that he had acquired so much merit that his forefathers might attain heaven by virtue of it. He was, however, disappointed to find his forefathers bound by a heavenly being who told him that really he had acquired no merit by such pilgrimage. This heavenly being further added that 'the highest virtues of a man who leaves alone his pure and most virtuous wife become fruitless, and not otherwise' ; that the gods, *Pitrs*, holy rivers, oceans, sacrifices, cows, sages and holy places are always present in the house of a man who has got such a wife ; that 'there is no holy place (*tīrtha*) like a wife, no happiness like her, and no such merit for deliverance and good' ; and that one who performs the funeral sacrifices without a wife is no better than a thief.

The means adopted by the authors of the *Purānas* to establish and popularise the *Varnāśramadharma* are various and interesting. Often the sages, gods and goddesses are made to extol the *Varnāśramadharma* as the means of attaining the sectarian gods. In the *Viṣṇu-p.* *Aurva*, being asked by king *Sagara* as to how *Viṣṇu* can be worshipped, says : "The supreme Being is worshipped by him who is loyal to the duties required by his own caste and stage of life. There is no other way of satisfying him. By performing sacrifices he makes oblations to him, by muttering prayers he invokes him, and by hurting others he hurts him, because *Hari* resides in all. Therefore, *Janārdana* is worshipped by that man who is given to

⁸ *Kūr* I, 2, 51-52.

⁹ *Mārka* 71, 9-11.

the rules of good conduct and performs the duties of his own caste" ¹⁰. In the *Kūrma-p.* it is said that Indradyumna worshipped Visnu in one of his previous births with a view to experiencing the supreme Brahma. Śrī, the Māyā of Visnu, appeared before Indradyumna and said: "I fail to overpower those who worship Purusottama, the prop of all beings, through Jñāna and Karma-yoga. So worship the Eternal One devoting yourself to Karman and Jñāna, and you will attain final beatitude" ¹¹. In *Kūr I*, 12, which is a Śākta document, Devī (i.e., Durgā), being asked as to how she can be attained by the people, says: "I am attainable by means of meditation, work, devotion and knowledge, but not by crores of acts other than these. Practise the Varnāśramadharma with self-knowledge as directed by the Vedas and lawbooks for final beatitude. From Dharma originates Bhakti (devotion), and by Bhakti is attained the best knowledge. Dharma, according to the Vedas and the lawbooks, is sacrifice etc. Dharma originated from the Vedas and from nothing else. So, one who is desirous of knowing Dharma or attaining final release should take recourse to the Vedas which are identical with myself". She further adds that there is no Śāstra except the Vedas which can claim to be the source of Dharma. There are, of course, the literatures of the Vāmas, Ārhatas, Kāpilas, Pāñcarātras and many other sects, but these were declared by Devī herself with a view to deluding those people who mislead others on the strength of bad scriptures ¹².

The incarnations of Visnu and Śiva are said to be intended for the revival of Dharma and the performance of sacrifices. For example, the *Vāyu-p.* says: "When sacrifices grew rare, lord Visnu was born again and again for establishing Dharma and destroying Adharma" ¹³. The *Viṣṇu-p.* says: "When the practices taught by the Vedas and the institutes of law shall nearly have ceased, and the close of the Kali age shall be nigh, a portion of that divine being who exists in his own spiritual nature (ātma-svarūpin) and in the character of Brahma, and who is the beginning and the end, and who comprehends all things, shall descend upon earth: he shall be born in the family of Visnuyāsas,—an eminent Brāhman of the village Sambhala,—as Kalki, endowed with the eight super-human faculties. By his irresistible might he will destroy all the Mlecchas and thieves, and all whose minds are devoted to iniquity. He will, then, re-establish righteousness upon earth; and the minds of those who live at the end of the Kali age shall be awakened, and shall

¹⁰ *Viṣ* III, 8, 9-11.

¹¹ *Kūr I*, 1, 60-61

¹² *Kūr I*, 12, 249 f.

¹³ *Vā* 98, 69. Also cf. *Vā* 97, 65-66; 98, 97; and so on.

be as pellucid as crystal”¹⁴. Regarding the mission of the incarnations of Śiva the Kūrma-p says. “The blue-red Śamkara will be incarnated for establishing the Śrauta and Smārta (Dharma) and for doing good to his devotees”. Śiva is described in Vā 30, 218 as ‘*varnāśramānām vidhivat prthak karma-pravartin*’.

The performance of the Varnāśramadharma is said to be elevating and productive of happiness both in this world and the next. It is said in the Purāṇas that Śrāddha, which is performed by those who are loyal to the duties of the stages of life and have acquired knowledge, gratifies the manes¹⁵, and that those who practise the seven acts, viz, celibacy, penance, sacrifice, begetting children, funeral sacrifices, acquirement of learning, and making gifts of food throughout their life, live happily in heaven in company with the gods and manes¹⁶. We have seen how men can attain Viṣṇu, Śiva or other gods by observing the rules of the Varnāśramadharma. They can also be saved from hells and the power of Yama. In the Viṣṇu-p. Yama advises his servants not to touch the Viṣṇu-worshippers, one of whose characteristics is their devotion to the Varnāśramadharma¹⁷. In the Varāha-p Yama enumerates to Nārada those people who do not go to hell. These people include the keepers of the sacred fire, the givers of land, sesamum, cow, gold and earth, the masters of the Vedas, those who respect the twice-born, the sacrificers, and those who study the Vedas daily¹⁸. Even the very presence of those who are given to the Śrauta and Smārta Dharma is said to be highly pleasing. The Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (15, 52-55) says that the wind, that touched the body of the pious king Vipāścīt, gladdened the people who were living in the hells, and mitigated their sufferings; because this king used to take food after offering it to the manes, gods, guests and servants, and performed various kinds of sacrifices.

In order to warn the people against violating the rules of the Varnāśramadharma numerous stories have been fabricated to show the results of violation. For example, we may refer to the story of the sons of Rājī who were deluded by Brhaspati, made to accept the Jina-dharma after giving up the Vedic Dharma, and were killed by Indra¹⁹; to the story of Vena who was killed by the sages for his neglect of the Varnāśramadharma²⁰; to the story of the demons who became very powerful by practising the Veda-dharma

¹⁴ Viṣ IV, 24, 26-27

¹⁵ Mat 144, 61; Vā 56, 68-69; etc.

¹⁶ Mat 141, 61-62; Vā 56, 69-71.

¹⁷ *na calati nja-varnāśramadharmaṭo yah tam avāhi viṣṇu-bhaktam*||
Viṣ III, 7, 20.

¹⁸ Var 207, 19-28.

¹⁹ Mat 24, 43-49.

²⁰ Viṣ I, 13; Vā 62, 103-126; Bhāg IV, 14; and so on

but were deluded by Māyāmoha only to be defeated and killed by the gods²¹; and so forth. Besides these and similar other stories, there are numerous chapters on the description of the ages (yuga), on hells, and on the results of actions. In the chapters on Yuga-dharma the easy and happy life of the people of the three preceding ages is attractively pictured in order to bring it into striking contrast with the miseries and degradation of the people of the Kali age, which are ascribed mainly to the neglectful tendency of the people towards the Varnāśramadharma. As an example, we may refer to the Matsya-p. in which the sufferings of the people of the Kali age are described as follows :

“ At the end of Dvāpara and by the beginning of the Kali age, Kali becomes very strong. During the Kali age, people indulge in Himsā, theft, falsehood, deceit, vanity etc, and delusion, hypocrisy and vanity overshadow the people. And Dharma becomes very weak in the Kali age, and people commit sin in mind, speech and actions. And works done with the whole heart and body sometimes become accomplished and sometimes not. Quarrels, plague, fatal diseases, famines, drought and calamities appear. Testimonies and proofs have no certainty. There is no criterion left when the Kali age settles down. Some die in the womb, some in childhood, some in youth, and some in old age. People become poorer in vigour and lustre. They are wicked, full of anger, sinful, false and avaricious. Bad ambitions, bad education, bad dealings, and bad earnings excite fear. The whole batch becomes greedy and untruthful. The Brāhmins become demoralised. They have base ambitions. Their knowledge and learning are mostly defective. Their character is exceedingly low, and by such ignoble conduct they prove very disastrous to the people. The people become saturated with jealousy, anger, vindictiveness, cowardice, greed and attachment. Lust increases during this age. The Brāhmins do not read the Vedas, nor do they perform sacrifices, and the Ksatriyas deteriorate with the Vaiśyas and become well nigh extinct. The Śūdras sleep with the Brāhmins, sit with the Brāhmins, eat and perform sacrifices with them, and hold relations of Mantra with them. Many Śūdras will become kings, and many heretics will be seen. There will arise various sects, Samnyāsins wearing clothes coloured red, Kāpālins and various others holding themselves followers of some Deva or other will find fault with Dharma. Many profess to have supreme knowledge, because thereby they will easily earn their livelihood. Some hypocrites will mark their bodies with Vedic symbols also. In the Kali age anybody will study the Vedas; the

²¹ Viṣ III, 17-18; and Pd (Śṛṅgi-kh.) 13, 348 ff.

Śūdras will be experienced in the Vedas. So there will be many false religionists. The Śūdra kings will perform Āśvamedha sacrifices, and the people will serve their ends even by killing women, children and cows. They will cheat each other to serve their ends. The country will become desolate by repeated calamities, short lives, and various kinds of diseases. Every one will be miserable and addicted to Adharma. Owing to the dominance of vice and Tamoguna (quality of darkness), people will freely commit the sin of abortion, on account of which there will be a decline in the longevity and strength of the people. The people will live up to 100 years at most. In spite of all the Vedas being in existence, it would be as if there were no Vedas, and the performance of sacrifices would be stopped. This is about the Kali age”²²

The motive underlying such descriptions is undoubtedly the attraction of the mind of the people towards the Vedic Dharma. The descriptions of hells and of the punishments inflicted there on the sinners are no less awful. In the hells, it is said, the sinners are punished with the utmost cruelty for neglecting the Varnāśramadharma and the general rules of morality. The Vāyu-p says “Those, who are fallen from an Āśrama (stage of life), fall into the fire and are eaten by black and variegated crows with iron beaks; and (one who is guilty) of breach (in the performance) of a sacrifice or vow, is cooked in the hell called Samdamśa”²³; and “All those, who, out of anger or delight, perform acts contradictory to the (rules of) castes and Āśramas, go to hell”²⁴. The chapters on Karma-vipāka also are equally effective in preventing the people from violating the rules of the Varnāśramadharma.

The doctrine of Ahimsā, preached by the Jains and Buddhists, was often responsible for depriving Brahmanism of popular favour, because the latter encouraged the slaughter of animals in sacrifices and funeral ceremonies. So, the authors of the Purāṇas felt it necessary to glorify the practice of one’s Svadharma, and introduced numerous stories for the purpose. In the Vāmana-p there is the story of Sukeśin, king of the Rākṣasas, who gave up his Svadharma and accepted Para-dharma (i.e. mānava-dharma). As a result, his moving city was brought down to earth by the Sun-god. It was, however, replaced afterwards in its former position. In the Varāha-p. there is the story of the Brāhman Saṃyamana and the fowler Niṣṭhura which runs as follows :

²² Mat 144, 29 f. Cf. also Vā 58, 51 f. There are many additional verses in the Vāyu.

²³ Vā 101, 171-172.

²⁴ Vā 101, 174.

Once Saṃyamana went to the river Bhāgīrathī for a bath and saw there a herd of deer which Nīsthuraka was going to hunt. Saṃyamana asked Nīsthuraka not to kill them. At this, the latter gave a short lecture on the unity of Ātman (which he identified with Nārāyaṇa), and demonstrated it by kindling a fire, the flame of which was divided thousandfold by means of an iron sieve placed on it, adding at the end :

*“ātma sa prakṛtiśā ca bhūtānām saṃśrayo bhavet|
vīkṛtād udbhavas tasya eṣā vai jagataḥ sthitiḥ||
pṇḍa-graḥaṇa-dharmena yad asya vīhitam vratam|
tat tad ātmanī saṃyojya kurvāno nāvasīdati||”*

As Nīsthuraka said this, there came down from heaven chariots in all of which Nīsthuraka was found sitting simultaneously

There is another similar story in the same Purāṇa. According to it, a fowler named Dharmavyādha convinced the sage Matanga that there is no food which is totally devoid of life (cāitanya), and that by avoiding animal food one can never avoid Himsā²⁵.

These stories are clear protests against the spread of Ahimsā which affected the sacrificial religion. They show to the people that one's Svadharma, of whatever type it may be, is as good as that of another in attaining the highest state of existence.

The control of women and Śūdras was a very difficult problem. We have already mentioned that the Jains and Buddhists allowed greater freedom and facilities to women and Śūdras. We have also seen how the authors of the Purāṇas tried to check women from accepting asceticism by glorifying the devoted and chaste wives. Other means also were adopted for the purpose. The Purāṇas framed stories to show that for women, service to their husbands and for the Śūdras, service to the twice-born were the means of attaining the highest regions. For an example we may refer to the Visṇu-p. (VI, 2) which contains the following story.

Once the sages were unable to decide the question as to when Dharma, though practised little, is capable of producing the greatest result, and went to Vyāsa for a solution. They found the latter bathing in the Ganges and heard him shouting, “Excellent, excellent is the Kali age”, “Blessed, blessed are the Śūdras” and “Fortunate are women” each time he dived. When, after bath, Vyāsa repaired to his hermitage, the sages asked him the cause of his exclamation. Vyāsa explained it saying: “In truth, in the Kali age, duty is discharged with very little trouble by mortals whose faults are all washed away by the water of their individual merits; by Śūdras, through diligent attendance (only) upon the

twice-born, and by women, through the slight effort of obedience to their husbands. Therefore, Brāhmans, did I thrice express my admiration of their happiness" ²⁶.

In numerous cases the authors of the Purāṇas are found to have attempted to establish the Varnāśramadharmā among women and Śūdras through the Purāṇic vows and worships. For instance, king Nṛga, who was a Śūdra in his previous birth, is said to have become a king by virtue of the observance of the Buddhadvādaśī-vrata²⁷; king Bhadrāśva and queen Kāntimatī, who served in the house of a Vaiśya in their previous births, attained royalty by managing a lamp to burn throughout the whole night in a Visnu-temple on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Āśvina²⁸; Kuvera performed the Dhanya-vrata in his previous birth as a Śūdra²⁹; and so on. The purpose underlying these stories is clearly the winning over of women and Śūdras to the composite Dharma of the Purāṇas.

The authors of the Purāṇas realised that unless the authority of the Vedas was established among the people, the popularisation of the Varnāśramadharmā was almost impossible. Hence they adopted various means for the purpose. In the Purāṇas the Vedas, Itihāsa, Upa-Veda, Vedāṅga, Dharma-śāstra, Purāṇa etc. are said to constitute the body of Visnu³⁰. Śiva also is identified with the Vedas and the sacrifice³¹. There are stories in the Purāṇas identifying the three Vedas with Brahmā, Visnu and Śiva. For an example, we may refer to the story of Nārada and Sāvitrī, the mother of the Vedas, in Var 2, 63 ff. This story, in which the Ṛg-veda is identified with Nārāyaṇa, the Yajur-veda with Brahmā, and the Sāma-veda with Rudra, is as follows :

Nārada once went to Śveta-dvīpa. There he saw an extremely beautiful woman at the side of a lake, and enquired her identity. At this she only gazed at Nārada and took away all the knowledge he had acquired. When the perplexed Nārada sought her shelter, he saw in her three men, one in the heart of another. At the next moment these three men vanished, and there remained that woman only. Nārada insisting upon an explanation of the matter, she said that she was the mother of the Vedas in the forms of the three men, viz., Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā and Rudra. She also blessed Nārada with the mastery of all the Vedas and the Śāstras and with omniscience, and asked him to bathe in the Veda-lake (veda-saras) to be able to remember his previous births.

²⁶ Viṣ VI, 2, 34-36a.

²⁷ Var 49, 6 ff.

²⁸ Viṣ I, 22, 81-83.

²⁹ Var 47, 20 ff.

³⁰ Var 56, 16.

³¹ Vā 30, 243b-244a and 251b.

The motive underlying this story is to raise the position of the Vedas in public eye by identifying them with the triad of gods, to attract the people to the study of the Vedas by attributing to them the power of conferring omniscience on the reader, and to canvass more regard for the Sāvitrī (also called the Gāyatrī). The muttering of the Gāyatrī together with the performance of Prāṇāyāma is said to be able to purify one of all Pātakas³². In the Purāṇas there are stories of sages versed in the Vedas and attractive descriptions of hermitages in which the Vedic hymns were chanted and sacrifices performed. The daily study of the Vedas is enjoined, and the regular student of the Vedas is said to be free from sins even after committing hundreds of sinful acts³³. We have seen that the Purāṇas recognise the Vedas as the sources of Dharma. In other matters also the Vedas were regarded as authorities; viz, in the rites for the pacification of the unfavourable planets the Purāṇas and the Vedas are the authorities³⁴; initiation to the worship of Brahmā is to be done according to the directions of the Vedas³⁵; and so on. The Brāhmins who are versed in the Vedas are assigned high position in the Purāṇas. The knowledge of the Vedas is the greatest qualification of those Brāhmins who are to be invited in a funeral ceremony. A Veda-knowing priest is desirable in vows, worship, etc. The consecrator of an image should be well versed in the Veda-mantras and the Purāṇas, and should lead a pure life³⁶. Gifts to and feeding of the Veda-pāraga and Āhitāgni Brāhmins are deemed highly meritorious. Acts of violence done to those learned in the Vedas are decried. Those who abandon the Vedas and the sacrifices are hated much. Such people, and those who censure the Vedas and the Vedic Dharma are among those who go to hell³⁷. "Those men who have given instruction in wicked Śāstras, and those who have advised such instruction for the purpose of completely destroying the sight even of their enemies; those who have repeated the Śāstra improperly; those who have given utterance to an evil word; those who have blasphemed the Veda, the gods, the twice-born and their Guru; for so many years these very terrible birds with adamant beaks tear out the very tongues of these men as they are continually renewed"³⁸. We have seen how the non-Vedic scriptures are censured as delusive in the Purāṇas.

³² Var 68, 25-26.

³³ Var 68, 23a.

³⁴ Mat 93, 3.

³⁵ Pd (Śrīti-kh.) 15, 100.

³⁶ Cf. Mat 265, 2-3.

³⁷ Pd (Śrīti-kh.) 15, 143b-147a. Var 195, 4b.

³⁸ Mārka 14, 43-45.

The Purāṇic Brāhmins tried to popularise the sacrifices also. In the Purāṇas Viṣṇu, in his Boar incarnation, is identified with the Vedic sacrifice, his different limbs representing the different requisites of the latter³⁹. Śiva also is identified with the sacrifice⁴⁰. There are names and stories of kings of different ages who performed numerous sacrifices, gave heavy priestly fees to Brāhmins, and repaired to heaven to enjoy the fruit.

The establishment of the Varnāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas seems also to have been attempted through the Vratas, Pūjās, Utsarga, etc. It is perhaps for this reason that we find the Purāṇic rituals imbued with the Vedic ones. The main component parts of a Vrata are generally the following —selection of a proper Tithi, determination of taking the vow, lying on the ground, bath, appointment of a Brāhmin as priest, worship, muttering (japa), offering oblations to the fire (homa), fasting, abstinence (especially from food), making gifts, feeding Brāhmins, keeping awake during the night, and listening to tales (ākhyāna-śravaṇa). All these have their parallels in the Vedic rituals⁴¹. In the Vratas the methods of Homa etc. often resemble the Vedic sacrifices. For instance, the Bhīmadvādaśī-vrata (also called the Kalyāṇinī-vrata—Mat 69) requires, among other things, the performance of Homa for which a pandal (mandapa) furnished with a portal (torana) and a sacrificial pond (kunda) is to be erected, the dimensions of all these being particularly given. Then, after the rituals of Ekāgni, Homa is to be performed with Caru sacred to Viṣṇu and then with ghee with the citation of Vedic Mantras of which the deity is Viṣṇu. This Homa requires twelve Brāhmins, four of whom are to be R̥g-vedins, four Yajur-vedins, and four Sāma-vedins. The R̥g-vedin Brāhmins are to conduct the Homa, the Yajur-vedins to recite the Mantra sacred to Rudra, and the Sāma-vedins to chant Vedic hymns on Viṣṇu. After the Homa is over, the Yajamāna (worshipper) is to make suitable gifts to all the Brāhmins. In the Saptamī-vrata (Mat 68) the preparation of Caru for Sūrya and Rudra, offer of ghee to Rudra in fire with the citation of seven solar R̥cs and the Rudra-sūkta, performance of Homa in which Arka (*Calatropis gigantea*) and Palāśa (*Butea frondosa*) are used as fuel, performance of Homa 108 times with barley and black sesamum, and the offer of ghee 108 times with the citation of the Vyāhṛti, are necessary. In other matters also the Vratas often approach the Vedic sacrifices.

³⁹ Mat 248, 67 ff.; Bhāg III, 13, 35 ff.; etc.

⁴⁰ Vā 30, 243 and 251.

⁴¹ See, Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 31, pp. 300 ff.

In the Ādityaśayana-vrata, Śāh rice, with ghee and a piece of gold, is to be placed on a plate made of Udumbara wood and given to a Brāhman (Mat 55, 18) ; the Kṛsnāstamī-vrata (Mat 56) betrays the belief in the sanctifying effect of the products of the cow in that the person who has taken the vow is to take the urine and milk of a cow, ghee, sesamum, barley, water raised with Kuśa grass, the water with which the horns of a cow have been washed, leaves of Śirīsa, Arka and Bilva, curd, and the five products of the cows (pañca-gavya) before worshipping Śiva ; during the same Vrata the branches of Vata, Aśvattha, Udumbara, Plaksa, Palāśa, Jambu and Vīḍusa are to be used for cleansing the teeth ; in the Rohinīcandraśayana-vrata (Mat 57) a man is to bathe with 'pañca-gavya' and mustard before taking up the vow obviously to attain purity of body ; in the Anāṅgadāna-vrata (Mat 70), which is meant for prostitutes, the Brāhman, who must be well-versed in the Vedas, is to cite the Vedic Mantras '*ka idam kasmād āt* etc' when accepting the cow offered by the prostitute ; and so on. The methods of the consecration of tanks, reservoirs etc are almost regular sacrifices except that there are some popular elements, viz, the worship of the sectarian gods, the drawing of a circle and painting it with powder of five hues, and the like. The consecration of tanks requires the following operations :—

Consulting a Brāhman ; making an altar, a pandal and nine, seven or five pits ; construction of arches with the branches of the Aśvattha, Udumbara, Plaksa and Vata trees in all the four directions of the pandal ; appointment of eight sacrificial priests (hotṛ), eight warders (dvārapāla), eight mutterers of prayers (jāpaka), and one priest ; furnishing the pits with pitchers, materials of sacrifice, fans, white chowries, and big dishes made of copper, offering of boiled rice and barley (i.e., caru) to the gods, making a sacrificial post ; appointment of 25 Rtvijṣ who are to be honoured with gold ear-rings, armlets, rings and clothes ; honouring an Ācārya ; making gifts ; bathing the worshipper and other members of his family with water containing different herbs ; performance of the sacrifice (which is purely Vedic) ; and so on.

The methods of dedicating and consecrating trees and grooves are in many respects similar to that of the consecration of tanks. The methods of making ceremonial gifts also require the erection of pandals and the performance of Homa. In baths during eclipses, the gifts of cows and the use of Vedic Mantras are enjoined (Mat 67). Graha-yajña and the consecration of images also require pandals, altars and Homa. Even the Śākta worships of the Purāṇas are replete with Vedic rituals. There is a Devī-yajña (sacrifice to Devī) described in Dbh III. 12. This 'yajña' is of three kinds—'sāttvika'

‘rājasa’ and ‘tāmasa’. The priests to be employed in these sacrifices should be highly learned in the Vedas (*vedavittamāh*), and in them special importance should be attached to the purity of things (*dravya-śuddhi*, i.e., articles acquired through fair means), purity of action (*kriyā-śuddhi*) and purity of Mantra (*mantra-śuddhi*), otherwise the results will be unfavourable. The methods of performing these three kinds of Devī-yajña show that they are modified Vedic sacrifices, the difference being that they are meant for Devī. In Dbh III, 25 king Sudarśana is said to have consecrated an image of Devī through the Vedic Brāhmans, and during the worship Vedic hymns were recited and Homa was performed. Dbh III, 26-27 deal with the Navarātra-vrata in which there is much of Vedic rites, and the Tantric rites, which are retained, are much refined. In this worship the priest should have perfect knowledge about Devī. He should possess a good character, and be continent and well versed in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas. On the previous day the worshipper should take rice mixed with ghee only once, construct a pandal and an altar, and summon the Brāhmans. On the day of the worship he should bathe in the morning and appoint a priest who should congratulate him with Veda-mantras, place the image of Devī on the altar, and perform Homa. In this worship the sacrifice of animals (*viz.*, buffaloes, goats or boars) is optional, and it should be followed by the worship of virgin girls (*kumārī-pūjana*), music, dancing, etc.

The above accounts of the methods of worship, consecration etc. show that the Vedic rituals were made to play no insignificant part in their performance. One thing, which is specially remarkable in them, is that the necessity of priests is almost the same as in the Vedic rites.

It should be mentioned here that the Vedic rituals that we find in the Purāṇic chapters dating earlier than the beginning of the 9th century A.D. were not retained to the same extent in the chapters of later dates but were often replaced by popular elements.

CHAPTER IV

THE PURĀNIC RITES AND CUSTOMS AS INFLUENCED BY THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NEEDS OF THE SACERDOTAL CLASS

Though the real origin of the composite Dharma that we find in the Purāṇas and call Purāṇic rites and customs is to be traced to the ideas, beliefs and practices of the Smārta Brāhman sectaries and not to the inventive power of any superior brain, the development and spread of this Dharma are apparently connected with the attempt of these Brāhmans to establish, among the people, the authority of the Vedas and the Brahmanical rules of castes, duties and conduct. But if we study the Purāṇas a little more closely we can also discover a distinct personal interest behind the attempt, and the Purāṇic Dharma appears to be due to a struggle of these Brāhmans no less for their own economic and social recovery than for saving the Brahmanical culture in general. How these Brāhmans were subjected to economic depression and social degradation and what measures they adopted for redress, we shall see in the following pages.

From very ancient times the Brāhmans were reduced generally to a priest class. In the period of the later Vedic Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āranyakas and the Upanisads 'we can distinguish . . . two classes of Brāhmans, the priests who, as Purohitas of the kings or belonging to his entourage, took part in the vast sacrifices, some of them lasting for at least a year, which they offered for their masters, and the priests of the village who lived a humble and more restricted existence, except when they might be called on to serve at the sacrifice instituted by some rich noble or merchant'¹. The strict life of these priestly Brāhmans is reflected in the Brahmanical literature, the epics and the Purāṇas. Simplicity, culture and religion were the guiding principles of their life. They valued most the old means of livelihood, viz., 'yājana'

¹ CHL, Vol. I, pp. 127-128.

(officiating as priest in the sacrifices instituted by others), 'adhyāpāna' (teaching) and 'pratigraha' (acceptance of gifts), the second of these being regarded as the best of all. They avoided service, trade, agriculture etc. until and unless they were in distress. In cases of economic crises which could not be redressed through the purer means, the Brāhmanas could follow the profession of the Ksatriyas. Even if that profession failed to give them the bare maintenance, they could take up the profession of the Vaiśyas, but in no case the profession of the Śūdras was acceptable. The Brāhmanas could follow the profession of the Vaiśyas only under certain restrictions. They were not allowed to sell anything and everything they liked. The lawbooks enumerate numerous things by selling which the Brāhmanas were degraded. In barter also there were restrictions. The Brāhmanas were advised to follow agriculture through representatives, because it involved cruelty to animals and the death of innumerable insects.² The social position of those Brāhmanas who took to the means of livelihood other than the purer three (i.e., 'yājana', 'adhyāpāna' and 'pratigraha') was deemed low. Such Brāhmanas were looked down upon and were considered unfit for invitation in a funeral ceremony³. As priests also they were often disqualified.

Even before the period of the Brāhmanas, the elaborate speculations of the priests began to cause a gradual increase in the number and intricacy of the Vedic rites and rituals on the one hand, and the Smṛti rules on the other. The growing mass of these engaged not only more time but also required more energy and expense. Yet the income of the Brāhmanas does not seem to have increased in the same proportion, but appears rather to have decreased. The causes of this decrease are not far to seek. Buddhism, Jainism and other heresies preached against Brahmanism. Their doctrine of Ahimsā, their disbelief in the efficacy of funeral rites, sacrifices etc., their disregard for the Vedas and the Brāhmanas, and their allowance of (apparently) equal status to all their followers affected the economic condition and the social position of the Brāhmanas. The spread of the doctrine of Ahimsā was the foremost cause of the unpopularity of Vedic sacrifices which were the main sources of income to the priests. How greatly this doctrine influenced the minds of kings and commoners is shown by Aśoka's categorical prohibition of bloody sacrifices in his empire.

² Manu X, 75 ff.; Gaut. VII; Viṣ III, 8, 38 to the end; Kūr II, 25, 2-12; and so on.

³ Manu III, 150 ff.; Gaut. XV, 18; Viṣ III, 15, 5-7; Kūr II, 21, 27 ff.; and so forth.

This prohibition must have made the economic condition of the priestly Brāhmins much worse. The popular forms of the sectarian religions (viz., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.) also were not very favourable to the priests. These were rather cosmopolitan in their attitude. Even the Śūdras and women could worship their deities themselves. The influence of Tantra on these religions made them far more dangerous to the priests. From the analysis of the contents of the Jayākhyā-saṃhitā we have seen that it ignored priesthood and gifts to non-sectarian Brāhmins. The gifts, in the great majority of cases, went to the spiritual preceptors who were not always Brāhmins. The non-Brāhmins also, not excepting the Śūdras and women, were allowed to act as spiritual preceptors in certain cases. Therefore, these gifts also were not the monopoly of the Brāhmins.

The political supremacy of the Śūdras, of the casteless foreign races, and of the followers of the heresies was highly detrimental to the interests of the priestly Brāhmins. The 'Śūdra' monarchs, especially of the Nanda and the Maurya dynasty, were mostly the followers of one or other of the heresies and tried to preach their faiths among the people. Many Śūdras accepted the heresies and got out of the power of the Brāhmins. Such acceptance of the heretical religions by the Śūdras meant economic loss to the Brāhmins. According to orthodox opinion, the Brāhmins could make the Śūdras, whether slaves or not, do their menial work, because it was believed that the Śūdras were created by Svayambhū only to serve the Brāhmins⁴. Further, they had, or at least claimed, absolute right over the earnings and belongings of their Śūdra slaves. Manu says "A wife, a son, and a slave,—these three are declared to have no property; the wealth which they earn is (acquired) for him to whom they belong. A Brāhman may confidently seize the goods of (his) Śūdra (slave), for, as that (slave) can have no property, his master may take his possessions"⁵. Gautama also says that the savings of a Śūdra slave should be meant for his master⁶. Sometimes the twice-born masters forced their slaves to earn money for them. The Nāmasiddhika-jātaka (Faus. No. 97) states that the master and

⁴ Cf. Manu VIII, 413.

⁵ *bhāryā putraś ca dūśaś ca traya evādhanāḥ smrtāḥ|
yat te samadhigacchanti yasya tat tasya tad dhanam||
viśabdham brāhmaṇaḥ śūdrād dravyopādānam ācaret|
na hi tasyāsti kiñcīt svam bhartṛ-hārya-dhano hi saḥ||*

Manu VIII, 416-417.

⁶ Gaut. X, 65—*tadartho 'sya nicayaḥ syāt.*

the mistress of a slave woman named Dhanapālī compelled her to work in others' houses to earn money. One day she failed to earn anything and was consequently beaten. After the death of a slave, his property passed into the hands of his kinsmen, and in the absence of the latter it could be taken by his master⁷. These and similar other privileges which the Brāhmins claimed, and also perhaps enjoyed, over their Śūdra slaves were prejudiced by the conversion of the latter to the heretical religions. The political power of the casteless foreigners, viz., Greeks, Scythians, Hūnas, Ābhīras and others, does not seem to have been very favourable to the Brāhmins. Those foreign kings who retained their own religions or became Buddhists could not be expected to have acknowledged fully the supremacy of the Brāhmins from the very beginning and to have deemed it pious to make gifts to them. We are also not sure whether those foreigners who accepted Vaisnavism or Śaivism came to value the directions of the Brāhmins from the very time of their entrance into India. The evidence of the inscriptions belonging to the Mauryas, Āndhras, Kṣaharātas, Kushans, Ābhīras and others shows that the donations made by them to the Buddhists were much greater than those made to the Brāhmins⁸. The donations made to the Buddhists even by the Gupta emperors were not small.

In the foregoing pages we have enumerated the principal causes which were connected with the economic depression of the priestly Brāhmins. Regarding the causes of their social degradation we have already said enough in the preceding chapters, which need not be repeated. We shall, therefore, turn our attention to the measures adopted by the Brāhmins for redress.

The priestly Brāhmins have always set much store by the rules of the Dharmaśāstras. Hence in the Purānas also they (i.e., the Smārta Brāhmin sectaries) are found to try to better their economic condition through lawful means, viz., the acceptance of gifts, priesthood, teachership, etc. The first of these means being considered the best and most effective, the Brāhmins strain every nerve to urge the people to make gifts to themselves on any and every occasion. Such strenuous efforts are undoubtedly at the basis of the introduction of the numerous chapters on gifts in the Purānas. Let us first examine the chapters on the ceremonial gifts.

Though from the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Dharmasūtras and the earlier Dharmaśāstras we know that huge gifts used to be made occasionally to the Brāhmins in ancient times, that the priests tried

⁷ Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, text, p. 188.

⁸ See, Rapson, Cat. of Ind. Coins in the Brit. Mus., Introduction, pp. 45-63. Ep. Ind., VIII, 1905-6, pp. 59-96.

to extract from their clients the highest amount as priestly fees⁹, and that the act of making gifts was looked upon as religious, there is no evidence to show that any vigorous propaganda was made by the Brāhmins to popularise the piety of making gifts earlier than the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Nor do the ancient people seem to have been familiar with the great variety of gifts that we find in the Purāṇas. In the works earlier than Yājñavalkya there is mention of the simple gifts of land, gold, silver, cows, horses, slave girls, houses, clothes, food, drink etc¹⁰, but in the Purāṇas the Brāhmins take advantage of the belief of the people in the merits of making gifts of cows etc. to multiply the number of gifts by many new inventions. For instance, the Purāṇas speak of the gifts of artificial cows made of paddy, raw sugar (guda), sesamum, water, ghee etc; of hillocks made of gold, silver, gems, salt, sesamum, ghee, sugar, cotton etc; of Tulā-purusa, Kalpa-pādapa, Kāma-dhenu, horse, universe (brahmāṇḍa), earth, horse and chariot, elephant and chariot, five ploughs, Kalpa-latā, cows, etc.—all made of gold; and so forth. Some of these gifts seem to have been invented even earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, for Khāravela, king of Kalinga, is said to have given away a Kalpa-pādapa¹¹.

The methods of making the artificial cows, hillocks etc. in the ceremonial gifts testify to their highly expensive nature. For example, in the Guḍadhenu-dāna (i.e., the gift of a cow made of raw sugar) the cow is to be made in the following way:

"The floor should be plastered with cowdung, the Kuśa grass should be spread on all sides, and then over it should be placed a black antelope-skin, four cubits in length, with its neck towards the east. This is meant for the cow. A small deer-skin should be meant for her calf. The cow, with her calf, should be made to face the east, and their legs should be turned towards the north. The image of the Guda-dhenu should be made of four maunds of raw sugar, and the calf of one maund of raw sugar,—this is considered to be the first best; the image of the cow made of two maunds, and of the calf of half a maund of raw sugar, is considered to be the next best; and the image of the cow made of one maund, and of the calf of ten seers of raw sugar, is considered to be the last best. The devotee is to choose between the three, according to his means. The mouths (of the images) of

⁹ Cf. Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, AnSS ed., XXXIX, 6, 2; XXXIX, 8 and 9 wherein huge gifts made by early kings are referred to by the priests.

¹⁰ Cf. the Dāna-stutis in the Vedas, Aitareya-brāhmaṇa XXXIX, 6 and 8-9, Manu IV, 227-235; Yāj. I, 198-216; and so on.

¹¹ JBORS, III, 1917, p. 432.

the cow and the calf should be made of clarified butter, and both should be covered with (pieces of) fine white cloth. Their ears should be made of oyster-shells, their legs of sugarcanes, and their eyes of good pearls. The tendons, nerves etc. (of these images) should be made of white threads, their dew-laps of white blankets, their cheeks and backs of copper, and their furs should be represented by white chowries. Their eyebrows should be made of corals, their udders of fresh butter, and their tails of (pieces of) silk cloth; a vessel of bell-metal should be placed to represent the milking vessel; the pupils of their eyes should be made of sapphire, and they should be adorned with horns of gold; their hoofs should be made of silver, and their nostrils, represented by scents, are to be furnished with various kinds of fruits"¹².

In the Dhānyācala-dāna (i.e., gift of a hillock made of paddy) the method of making the hillock is given by the Matsya-p. (83, 12-26a) as follows

"The hill of 1000 Dronas of paddy is the first best, of 500 Dronas the second best, and of 300 Dronas the last best. The Sumeru hill in the centre should be made of rice, and three trees of gold should be on it. Pearls and diamonds should be placed on the east side of the hill, cat's-eyes and topazes on the south, emeralds and sapphires on the west, and lapislazuli and ruby on the north. Pieces of sandal wood should be placed on all sides. So also a creeper of corals should surround it, and the surface and the bottom of the rock should be bedecked with oyster-shells. The images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and the Sun should be made of gold by holy Brāhmins and placed on the summit of the hill. The four peaks should be made of silver, and silver should also be used to make the slopes. Sugarcanes, representing bamboos, should cover the caves, and streams of clarified butter should be on all sides. The clouds surrounding this hill on four sides should be made of cloths of four colours, viz., those on the east, of white cloth, those on the south, of yellow, those on the west, of pigeon-grey, and those on the north, of red-coloured cloths. Fruits of different kinds, fine garlands of flowers, and sandal should be placed on all sides. Eight silver Lokapālas . . . should be made . . .

Then the Mandarācala should be erected with barley in the east and adorned with rows of fruits, and on the top should be planted a tree of gold That hill should be adorned with a golden image of Cupid, arrayed in beautiful dresses, garlands of flowers, and sandal. There should be on one side of it a vessel containing milk and representing the sea of milk, and on the opposite side,

¹² Mat 82, 3-10a.

another vessel representing the sea called Arunoda. The forests of the hill should be represented by silver trees, according to the means of the devotee. On the south, the Gandhamādana hill should be made of wheat, with some gold in it, on its top should be placed a golden image of Yajñapati; and the lake Mānasa of clarified butter, and a garden of white cloth and silver should adorn it. On the west, a hill of sesamum should be made and adorned with scented flowers. Fig trees and swans of gold, a garden of silver-flowers, a pond of curds representing a lake of cold water, and clouds represented by white cloths, should also be made. On the north, the Supārśva hill of Māsa (*Phaseolus radiatus*) should be made. A golden Vata tree and a cow of gold should be placed on the top of the hill. A pond of honey, representing an auspicious lake, and a garden of silver trees, should also be made at the bottom of it."

The gifts of the Tulā-purusa, Hema-kalpa-pādapa etc require greater expenses. The encouragement to these expensive gifts means maximum extortion. Though the nature of these gifts shows that they are possible only for kings and emperors, there are provisions for adapting them to the circumstances of less wealthy people.

The occasions on which gifts are directed to be made are various and numerous. The Matsya-p. (274, 19b-23) says "The great gifts (Mahādāna) should be made on the days of the Ayana, Visuva, Vyatipāta, Dina-ksaya, on the first days of the Yugas and Manvantaras, on Samkrānti, Vaidhrti, Caturdaśī, Āstami, Śuklā Pañcadaśī, on the Parvan days, on Dvādaśī, Āstakā, the occasions of sacrifices, festivities, marriages, after dreaming bad dreams or seeing wonderful things, on getting wealth and (worthy) Brāhmins, on the occasion of funeral sacrifices, in desired times, in a sacred place, in temples, cowsheds, near a well or a garden or a beautiful tank, etc". Such varieties of occasions seem to be based on the principle that the more the people give, the better.

In the Purāṇas great attempt has been made to popularise gifts. It is preached that making gifts is the only piety in the Kali age¹³, and that 'the creatures have no other piety on earth than that of making gifts'¹⁴. The merits of gifts made to Brāhmins are extolled with a view to attracting the notice of the people. Such gifts are said to give pomp and pleasure to the donor both in this life and the next. He is said to have health, wealth, a beautiful wife, and children on earth¹⁵, and after death, to attain, without the least

¹³ 'dānam ekaṃ kalau yuge'—Kūr I, 28, 17; Manu I, 86; cf. Var 68, 8; etc.

¹⁴ 'dāna-dharmāt paro dharmo bhūtānām neha vidyate'—Kūr II, 26, 56a

¹⁵ Mat 206, 30.

difficulty, the highly desired regions named Brahma-loka, Viṣṇu-loka etc., where the objects of enjoyment are very easily available. In these regions 'there are rivers flowing with clarified butter and milk and having curds and condensed milk as mud, and there are trees that grant the desires'¹⁶. Here the donor lives in full liberty for innumerable years 'being served incessantly by ladies having faces like the moon, complexion like burnished gold, broad buttocks, slender and rounded waists, and eyes tinged like a lotus'¹⁷. At the end of the period of enjoyment he is 'born again on earth as a king of kings, his foot-stool is tinged with (the rays of) the gems on the crests of the feudatory princes, and he becomes the performer of a thousand sacrifices and conquers all other kings by dint of his great prowess'¹⁸. The above pictures of earthly and heavenly enjoyments, which are met with in almost all the Purāṇas, are undoubtedly meant for appealing to the popular psychology which always values physical enjoyment over final emancipation. The Purāṇas say that the people fail to get those things in the next world which they do not give to the Brāhmins on earth¹⁹. "What are given to Brāhmins become treasures in the next world, and there is no end of the fruits produced by the seed-like gifts sown in the land-like Brāhmins cultivated with the ploughs in the forms of the Vedas"—says the Viṣṇu-dharmottara (II, 32, 2b-3). By giving food and artificial cows of sesamum, clarified butter etc. to Brāhmins, the donor overcomes hunger and thirst which, consequently, cannot trouble him in heaven²⁰. In the Purāṇas, gifts to Brāhmins are further said to please God²¹ and to 'have great purificatory powers. They are said to be capable of destroying whatever sins the donor may have committed in any of his births. Even those donors who are guilty of adultery and murder of Brāhmins can get rid of their sins by making gifts²². The wonderful results of gifts on the donors, recipients and spectators, and of the topics on gifts on those who study or narrate or listen to them are described in almost all the Purāṇas in highly extravagant language. For example, the Varāha-p. (100, 12-13) says: "The man who makes gifts, the man who sees (them), the man who hears (about them), and the Vipra who accepts them—all become free from -sins. The murderer of a Brāhman or the father, and the man who has killed a cow, drunk wine, or violated

¹⁶ Mat 205, 8. Also cf. Pd (Śrṣṭi-kh.) 45, 176.

¹⁷ Mat 205, 9.

¹⁸ Mat 274, 77.

¹⁹ Pd (Śrṣṭi-kh.) 31, 124a. Manu IV, 234.

²⁰ Cf Pd (Śrṣṭi-kh.) 31, 135-136.

²¹ 'īśvara-prīṇanārthaṃ'—Kūr II, 26, 8.

²² Mat 206, 16; 90, 11; etc.

the bed of a superior person (guru-talpaga), get rid of all sins and attain the abode of Viṣṇu". The Matsya-p. also says: "One who witnesses the gifts with reverence, thinks of it at other times, repeats it to others, hears of it, or reads about it, becomes as beautiful as Indra and attains the region adorned by the god Puṣyamdara"²³, and "One who advises others (to make gifts) for their own good, invariably becomes the leader of the hosts of the Lord of the gods"²⁴. Further, in the realm of Yama honour is said to be shown by Citragupta to those who repeatedly give food materials, foot-wears, umbrellas, water-pots etc., to Brāhmins²⁵. According to Mārkaṇḍeya 10, 51-55 those, who give water, food and drink, who worship the gods and the Brāhmins, and who do not forsake their own Dharma through anger, malice etc., are among those who die peacefully. In the different kinds of Dhenu-dāna and Acala-dāna, the cows and hillocks made are often identified with some prominent god or goddess, and are said to have the power of conferring the desired objects²⁶. Such identification and ascription of power are obviously intended to attract the mind of the people to these gifts and also to make them have greater faith in their unailing efficacy.

The Purāṇas narrate fictitious stories of kings and others who made gifts with great effect. For instance, in the Matsya-p. (274, 11-13) Vāsudeva, Bhārgava, Ambarīsa, Kārtavīryārjuna, Prahlāda, Prthu, Bharata and others are said to have made gifts with the result that they were all guarded by the gods. There is also the story of the prostitute Lilāvati and the Śūdra goldsmith. The former gave away a hillock of salt, and the latter made, without charging any fee, a golden tree and some images of gods required in the gift. As results of these pious acts, the prostitute attained the region of Śiva after death, and the Śūdra goldsmith became a paramount sovereign named Dharmamūrti in his next birth²⁷.

The authors of the Purāṇas try to impart a semblance of holiness and importance to the topics on gifts by calling the latter 'secret' (guhya, rahasya) and 'old' (purātana)²⁸. Moreover, these topics are always ascribed to some prominent god or sage in order that they may have unquestionable authority.

Miserly habits and deceitful economy (vitta-sāthya) in gifts are repeatedly condemned in the Purāṇas²⁹, probably because these

²³ Mat 274, 78.

²⁴ Ibid., 275, 29b.

²⁵ Cf. Var 206, verses 2, 11, 14-15 and 18; 205, 20 ff.; and so on.

²⁶ Cf. Mat 83; Var 99-112, and so forth.

²⁷ Mat 92, 17-31.

²⁸ Mat 274, 18; Var 112, 48; and so on.

²⁹ Mat 277, 17; Var 109, 5, and 110, 5; and so on.

are highly detrimental to the interests of the Brāhmins. Those who are misers and do not give anything to the Brāhmins, are condemned to hell and its severe tortures³⁰. The *Brahma-p.* (chap. 215) gives a horrible picture of hellish tortures inflicted on sinners by the hell-guards. When these afflicted sinners hanker after food and drink, the guards remind them that as they did not give anything to the Brāhmins on earth, they can have nothing to eat or drink in the hells. They then begin punishing the poor souls afresh.

From what has been said above it is clear that in the Purāṇas the Brāhmins adopt every possible means to make the people bounteous to themselves. They are not, however, satisfied with this even. They become so greedy for gifts that they call upon the administrative power of the king to force the people to be charitable to themselves in normal times as well as in famines. In the *Kūrma-p.* the king is advised to confiscate all the belongings of a man and banish him from his kingdom, if the latter does not, after earning money, satisfy the gods and the Brāhmins³¹. This Purāṇa further says: "The man who does not give food etc. to the starving Brāhmins in times of famine is a hateful murderer of Brāhmins. Nothing should be accepted from him, nor should anything be given to him. The king should brand such a man and drive him out of his territory"³². The avaricious character of the gift-seeking Brāhmins seems also to be indicated by the stories of fatal quarrels over the possession of gifts. As an instance the story of Yājñavalkya and Śākalya in Vā 60, 35 ff. (= Bd II, 34, 36-68) may be cited. This story states that Janaka once celebrated a horse-sacrifice which was attended by thousands of Brāhman ascetics. Out of curiosity to know who was the most learned among them, Janaka thought out a plan. He offered a thousand cows, gold coins (*suvarṇa*) of a greater number, villages, gems and slaves to the sages and said that these were to be accepted by that person who was the most learned among them. This set on foot a quarrel among the sages. Each of them wanted to possess the wealth and challenged others in debate in order to establish his superior knowledge of the Vedas. When the other sages were thus quarrelling, Yājñavalkya ordered one of his students to take the wealth to his house, because, he boasted, he was the only man who had mastered all the Vedas and was able to defeat all the sages present. The interests of all other sages being thus jeopardised, they stood in a body against Yājñavalkya; but they were silenced by the latter with questions. One Śākalya among these defeated sages got furious at this insult. He

³⁰ Var. 198, 76-78; Br 214; and so forth.

³¹ Kūr II, 26, 59.

³² Kūr II, 26, 60-61.

challenged Yājñavalkya again in debate. Yājñavalkya answered the questions asked by Śākalya, and then put a question to the latter with the curse that if he could not answer it, he would die. Śākalya failed to answer it and died. The Brāhmins are, again, sometimes found to take recourse to apparently deceitful means to extract money from others. For example, the Kūrma-p (II, 26, 19-38) describes some gifts in which the people are made to understand that they are worshipping their respective deities and offering things to them, when they are really worshipping some Brāhmins and making gifts to the latter. The Purāṇa further adds "A wise man should worship the Brāhmins to please the god whom he wishes to adore. The gods always dwell in the bodies of the Brāhmins . . . ; so, they should be worshipped in the Brāhmins very carefully by those who desire the fulfilment of their wishes"³³. Such identification of the Brāhmins with gods seems to be another means of exploitation.

In order that the gifts may be monopolised by the Brāhmins who are within the Brahmanical and the Hindu fold, the Purāṇas advise the people not to be liberal to those Brāhmins and non-Brāhmins who follow other religions. The Kūrma-p says: "A person versed in the laws should not offer even water to an infidel, a rationalist, the Pāśandas and one who is not learned in the Vedas"³⁴. It adds "A man should feed a pious (dhārmika—practising 'Dharma') and learned Brāhmin even if the latter has already got a full meal, but never an illiterate and undutiful one who has been fasting for ten nights"³⁵. Such preachings and prohibitions are directed mainly against the Jains and Buddhists who are the most formidable rivals to the Brāhmins in the field of gifts.

The characteristics of those Brāhmins who are the worthy recipients of gifts are laid down in the Purāṇic chapters on gifts. These characteristics are important in that they point not only to the economic condition of the priestly Brāhmins but also to the causes which compelled them to be hunters of gifts. The Purāṇas say that the recipients of gifts should be 'śrotṛiya' (versed in Śruti), 'kulina' (of high lineage), 'vinīta' (well disciplined), 'vratastha' (observing a vow), 'tapasvin' (practising penance), 'sāgnika' or 'āhitāgni' (maintaining the sacred fire in the house, i.e., performing sacrifices), 'veda-pāraṅga' (master of the Vedas), 'sadācāra' (of good conduct), 'annārthin' (wanting food), 'kutumbin' (burdened with families), 'daridra' (poor), and so forth³⁶. The encouragement to

³³ Kūr II, 26, 36-38.

³⁴ Kūr II, 26, 68.

³⁵ Kūr II, 26, 64.

³⁶ Cf. Mat 72, 35, and 97, 15; Kūr II, 26, 11 and 14; Var 58, 15-16; 101, 7; 103, 9; 104, 9; and so forth.

making gifts to the 'śrotriya', 'āhūtāgni' and 'sadācāra' Brāhmans is due to the fact that such Brāhmans need help for the proper conduct of their expensive sacrificial rites. There are inscriptional records of grant of land solicited by, and also made to, Brāhmans for the proper conduct of their Vedic rites. As examples, the Dāmodarpur Copper plates of the Gupta kings³⁷ may be referred to. Of these plates, two were inscribed in 443-444 and 447-448 A.D. The first plate states that a Brāhman Karppatika applied to the local government for a permanent grant to him, according to Nīvidharma, of one Kulyavāpa of untilled, 'aprada', 'khila' land for the convenient performance of his Agnihotra rites (*mamāgnihotropa-yogāya*). According to the second plate, a person, whose name is illegible and who was in all probability a Brāhman, was granted five Dronas of land for the conduct of his five daily sacrifices [*pa(ñca)-mahāyagña-pravartanāya*]. In the Purānas such grants are said to be highly meritorious. The Kūrma-p. (II, 26, 12) says. "The man who, out of devotion, gives the earth (*mahīm*, i.e., land) to a Brāhman maintaining the sacred fire, attains the highest region where sorrow is unknown". The frequent occurrence of the word 'daridra' and the expressions '*kutumbine deyam*', '*kutumbine pradātavyā*' etc. in the chapters on gifts, and the recipients' citations of the Mantra in which they are to say that they are accepting the gifts especially for the maintenance of their dependants³⁸, show that the poor priests were burdened with families which they often supported with great difficulty, and were, consequently, compelled to accept gifts for their bare maintenance and not for luxury. In numerous cases the condition of the priests became so much straitened that they turned professional beggars and disturbed the people by continued begging³⁹. The poverty of the priestly Brāhmans seems further to be indicated by their acceptance of gifts and food offered by prostitutes in the Anagadāna-vrata (Mat 70, 42-45). According to Yājñavalkya (I, 215) such gifts are always to be rejected.

Though the priestly Brāhmans stand in great need of gifts, they hesitate to accept these from any and every person without discrimination. In their opinion, those members of the upper three castes who follow their respective duties are the best people from whom gifts are acceptable⁴⁰. It is mainly in the case of Śūdras

³⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol XV, pp. 113 ff.

³⁸ *ahaṃ gṛhṇāmi tvām devī kutumbārthe viśeṣataḥ*—Var 104, 12.
Also cf. Var 99, 91-92 and Pd (Sṛṣṭi-kh.) 31, 143-144.

³⁹ Cf. *yas tu yācanako nityaṃ na sa svargasya bhājanam*
udvejayati bhūtāni yathā cauras tathāva saḥ|| Kūr II, 26, 74.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kūr II, 26, 70.

that restrictions are to be followed more strictly. In spite of all the theoretical restrictions, it is doubtful whether those members of the four castes who were neglectful of their duties were excluded in practice from being donors. From the evidence of the Purāṇas and the Buddhist literature we learn that priesthood ceased to be the only means of livelihood of the Brāhmins, and that many of them became state officials, traders, agriculturists and artisans. The Ksatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras also not seldom abandoned their respective hereditary professions for other occupations according to their own choice. From the facts that the Veda-knowing Brāhmins are allowed by the Purāṇas to accept gifts from even public women, and that the former are said to hanker after the favour of the Śūdras, it seems highly probable that in practice the priestly Brāhmins did not reject the gifts made to them by the 'fallen' members of the four castes.

In spite of all their preachings for gifts, the Brāhmins seem never to have ignored the ideal life of simplicity and asceticism. They formulate that a Brāhmin should live a simple life in which excess of wealth should have no place. He should not be greedy, nor should he be anxious for the acceptance of gifts, because greed of money causes degradation. He should accept from others only that amount which will give him a bare subsistence⁴¹. As to the expending of the money received, the Brāhmins are advised not to be reckless. They are to spend it for the maintenance of their dependants, for the worship of gods, for entertaining guests, for performing sacrifices and for making gifts, but never for enjoyment⁴².

Besides the ceremonial gifts, of which much has been said above, there were other sources of income to the priestly Brāhmins. These are the vows (vrata) and worships, funeral ceremonies, penances, etc.

The way in which the gifts are connected with vows in the Purāṇas, proves definitely that one of the main objects of encouraging the latter is inducement to making gifts⁴³. This fact is further evidenced by the description of many vows in which gifts are of primary importance⁴⁴. The variety and the expensive nature of the articles of gifts also seem to point to the same fact. In order

⁴¹ Cf. Kūr II, 26, 71-73.

⁴² Cf. Kūr II, 25 18-21, and II, 26, 75.

⁴³ Cf. *ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi dāna-dharmān aśesataḥ* |
vrātopavāsa-samyuktān yathā matsyoditān iha || Mat 54, 1.
vrāta-rūpāni dānāni nānā-rūpāni pāṭhivā |
tāni te'ham pravakṣyāmi lokānām hita-kāmyayā |

Agni-p., quoted in Candēśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara, fol. 189b.

⁴⁴ Cf. Mat 101 in which 62 different vows have been described.

to acquaint ourselves with the extent of taxation made through the vows, the direction of the Matsya-p in connection with the Āditya-śayana-vrata is given below as an example. This Purāṇa says "On the day of the fourteenth repast after the fast, the worshipper should feed the Brāhman with raw sugar, milk and clarified butter. And after that, he should get a golden lotus, eight 'angulas' in length, furnished with eight leaves and studded with gems, and bedecking it with nice cloth, should give it away to a Brāhman, along with bedsheet, pillow, utensils, shoes, chowries, a piece of mattress, looking-glass, garments, fruits, incense, bedstead, a cow with her horns covered with gold and hoofs with silver, along with her calf, and a vessel of bell-metal for milking the cow. The cow must necessarily be given away on that occasion"⁴⁵. This multiplication of gifts in the Purāṇic vows stands in striking contrast with the simple priestly fees prescribed in the Śasthī-kalpa of the Mānava-grhya-sūtra⁴⁶. In this Śasthī-kalpa, which is almost a regular Vrata, Śasthī is called Śrī, Lakṣmī, Kāma-patnī, Devī etc., and is thus deified. This Kalpa is meant for the attainment of progeny and wealth; and in it the priestly fee is only a cow and a bull (*gaur anadvāmś ca dakṣmā*).

Great attempt has been made in the Purāṇas to popularise the vows, which, the authors of the Purāṇas say, are to be observed by all without discrimination (*avicāreṇa . . . anustheyam . . .* Mat 70, 32). Just as in the case of the ceremonial gifts, the observance of the vows also is said to be capable of conferring both Bhukti (objects of enjoyment) and Mukti (final release) and of destroying all sins; the secret and the highly effective topics on vows are always ascribed to some god or sage so that they may have unquestionable authority; stories of ancient kings and commoners are fabricated to show the great powers of the vows⁴⁷; miserly economy (*vitta-sūthya*) is severely condemned; and so forth.

Of the gifts in penances and funeral sacrifices we scarcely need anything to add. From very ancient times, these have played an important part in the economic life of the priesthood⁴⁸. In the Purāṇas also their necessity is not at all overlooked. A comparison between the Smṛti Samhitās and the Purāṇas shows how the gifts in penances and funeral ceremonies have been multiplied in the latter.

⁴⁵ Mat 55, 20-25.

⁴⁶ Mānava-grhyasūtra (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXXV), pp. 176-179.

⁴⁷ Cf. Mat 55, 32; and 100. Var 41, 17 ff.; 42, 7 ff.; 43, 9 ff.; etc.

⁴⁸ Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 31), pp. 265-266. J. Jolly, Hindu Law and Custom (English translation by Batakrishna Ghosh), p. 255.

Besides the occasions mentioned above, there are numerous others on which the Brāhmins have to be satisfied with money or food or both, viz., visits to holy places are to be attended with gifts and feasts to Brāhmins; in almost all religious ceremonies the Brāhmins are to be sumptuously fed; gifts are to be made to them after noticing an evil omen, dreaming bad dreams, and listening to the Purāṇas, valuable gifts are invariably to be made to the priests and the spiritual preceptor in Vrata, Pratisthā, Mahādāna, etc.; and so forth.

The measures noticed above are not all that the Brāhmins adopt for their own interests. They also try to better their social position by various means, which we shall briefly notice here

The Brāhmins knew well that the establishment of the Varnāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas is intimately connected with that of their own supremacy, and that if they would succeed in the former, the latter would follow as a direct consequence. This consciousness is most probably one of the causes why in the Purāṇas they strain every nerve to establish the Varnāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas first; and we have seen how seriously they try to achieve this end. They are, however, not satisfied with this much. They preach: "The Brāhmins who have mastered the Vedas are incomprehensible by all beings; Brāhmins deserve always to be worshipped; Brāhmins are all gods. None should cherish wrathful jealousy towards these twice-born"⁴⁹. They also introduce many stories of Brāhmins who possessed miraculous power of favour and curse. As an example, we may refer to Var 37 containing the story of king Dīrghabāhu who neglected the Brāhmins and became a tiger as a result of their curse. Being pacified by Dīrghabāhu the Brāhmins said that he could get rid of his tigerhood when an arrow would pierce his body and the words '*namo nārāyaṇāya*' uttered by a Brāhmin would enter his ears. In course of time all these happened, and Dīrghabāhu got back his former existence. Before going to heaven he said: "The person who, after worshipping the Brāhmins and uttering the word '*namas*' to Hari, gives up his life, becomes free from all sins and attains final release. 'It is true, it is true, and again, it is true', I declare by raising my arms, 'that the moving gods in the forms of Brāhmins are the same as Purusottama, the supreme Being'⁵⁰". One of the intentions underlying the above story is to raise the position of the Brāhmins in the public eye by making the people believe in the fierceness of

⁴⁹ Var 208, 19b-20. There are innumerable such passages in the Purāṇas. It is needless to refer to them all.

⁵⁰ Var 37, 33-34.

their curse, by making them understand that the Brāhmanas can do immense good when pleased, and by showing the power of the Mantras uttered by them. Not to speak of men, even gods and objects of Nature are said to be controlled by Brahmanical power. In the Viṣṇudharmottara Pauskara, who warns Paraśurāma against hurting, insulting, killing, or doing anything objectionable to, Brāhmanas, refers to the powers of the latter, saying “(It is the Brāhmanas) who have made the Fire omnivorous, (the waters of) the great ocean undrinkable, the Moon a phthisical patient, and Śatakratu have the scrotum of a he-goat, the fire produced by whose anger does not cease (to burn) in the Dandaka forest even to this day, whose favour, O son of Bhṛgu, is equally great; through whose grace, the Moon, though waned, attains fullness, the Sun is not overpowered by the Rākṣasas, Kārtavīrya attained great prosperity, and Dhanada became the owner of riches”⁵¹. All these allusions are based on elaborate stories narrated in one or other of the Purāṇas.

In the majority of the Purāṇas, the Brāhmanas are called the visible gods of the earth and are identified with Viṣṇu or some other prominent deity⁵², so that any ill-treatment of them means the same to these deities. The Brāhmanas are also often directed to be utilised as one of the mediums of worship⁵³. This use is certainly due to their ascribed divinity.

The sanctity of Brāhmanas is set forth in many of the Purāṇas in highly extravagant language so much so that the people are directed to drink the water with which the holy feet of the Brāhmanas are washed, because ‘all the holy places on (the surface of) the earth exist in a sea, and those in the seas exist in the feet of a Brāhman’⁵⁴. The miraculous powers of this water are also described in the same strain.

It is to be noted that though in the later Vedic period claim had already begun to be made for the divinity of Brāhmanas⁵⁵, it

⁵¹ Viṣṇudh. II, 32, 25b ff

⁵² Var 125, 169; 37, 34; etc.; Bv I, 1, 141; Pd (Brahma-kh.) 14, 2; and so forth.

⁵³ For instance, in the Rohiṇīcandraśayana-vrata (Mat 57) a Brāhman is to be considered as the Moon and worshipped; in the Nāṇdimukha-śrāddha ‘the Mātr̥s and Ganeśa are first to be worshipped on variegated altars, on images, or in Brāhmanas’ (Kūr II, 22, 100); and so on.

⁵⁴ Bv I, 11, 26; Pd (Brahma-kh.) 14, 12; and so forth.

⁵⁵ See Śatapatha-brāhmana II, 2, 2, 6-7 wherein the Brāhmanas, who have studied and teach the sacred lore, are called human gods and are said to have the power of placing the sacrificer, who gratifies them with gifts, in the heavenly world as well as in a state of bliss (sūdhā).

See also *Ibid*, IV, 3, 4, 4-5; Taittirīya-saṃhitā I, 7, 3, 1; Taittirīya-āraṇyaka II, 15; Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra 19, 20-24; and so on.

is in the Purāṇas that we notice a remarkably vigorous attempt made in this direction, and the later the Purāṇa the greater the claim to their divinity, so much so that they are raised at times even higher than the gods and their worship is preached in highly extravagant language.

CHAPTER V

ABSORPTION OF TANTRICISM BY THE PURĀNIC RITES AND CUSTOMS

It has already been said in chapter II of this part of our work that the Tantras (including the Pāñcarātra Samhitās and the Śaiva Āgamas) preached ideas and practices which often went against the Brahmanical ones, that these non-Vedic works are often denounced in the Purāṇas as 'Mohana-śāstra', and that at the time the chapters on vows, worship etc. first began to be included in the Purāṇas, the Tantric elements were eliminated as far as possible. It is due most probably to this originally strained relationship between the Tantras and the Purāṇas that the Purāṇic chapters on vows, worship etc., which were added before 800 A.D., are almost totally free from Tantric influence. The few Tantric elements which are found in these chapters consist of Mantra-nyāsa¹, the occasional use of Tantric Mantras for Abhicāra only², the drawing of coloured lotuses (padma) or circles (mandala, cakṛa) during worship in vows, consecration etc.,³ and the worship of virgin girls in the Vira-vrata⁴. The retention of these few Tantric traces show how greatly the mystic rites and practices of the Tantras influenced the minds of the Brāhmins, who seem to have such a firm belief in their unfailing efficacy that, inspite of all their antagonistic attitude towards the Tantras, they could not free themselves totally from the influence of these works.

Our analysis of the Purāṇas shows that from about the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D., some of these works began to recognise the Tantras as one of the authorities on religious matters. This recognition must have been effected by the great spread of Tantricism among the people including even the Buddhists. But at first the recognition seems to have been made under restrictions, for the Devībhāgavata says: "For the deliverance of those best Brāhmins who were burnt by the curses

¹ Cf. Mat 266, 29-30.

² Cf. Mat 93, 150 ff.

³ Mat 58, 21-22; 62, 16-19; 64, 12; 72, 30; 74, 6-7; and so on.

⁴ Mat 101, 27-28.

of Dakṣa, Bhṛgu and Dadhīca, and were caused to deviate from the path of the Vedas, the Āgamas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣnavas, Sauras, Śāktas and Gāṇapatīyas were written as steps (sopāna) by Śaṃkara. In some places of these works there are some portions which do not go against the Vedas. By accepting these (portions) the Vaidikas do not incur sin"⁵. The Varāha-p goes a step further. In it Nārāyaṇa is found to recommend, next to the Vedas, the sectarian scriptures of the Pāñcarātras thus: "By worshipping me through the Paurusa Sūkta and the study of the Samhitās, O twice-born, people always attain me in no time. I am attainable to those people (also) who, being unable to acquire (knowledge of) the Vedas, worship me after the direction of the Pāñcarātras"⁶. The Bhaviṣya-p recognises the Tantras as an authority on the consecration of trees, parks, tanks, etc⁷. The Skanda-p says that Śambhu can be realised through the Vedas, Purāṇas, Upaniṣads and the various Āgamas⁸. The Brahma-p. speaks of a king named Indradymna who consulted the Tantras, Itihāsa, Purāṇas etc to learn the method of worshipping Hari⁹. This gradual recognition of the authority of the Tantras is also reflected in those chapters on initiation, worship etc. which were added to the Purāṇas later than the beginning of the ninth century A.D. For instance, in the Purāṇic initiation (dikṣā) as described in Var 127-129, some of the elements of Vedic Upanayana are introduced and the use of Tantric Mantras is carefully avoided, though the procedure is derived clearly from the Tantras, and the 'Āgama' is recognised as the authority¹⁰. On the other hand, Tantric elements are found to abound in the initiation described in the Garuda-p. (I, 9), Padma-p. (Śṛṣṭi-kh., 31, 8-75), Agni-p (chaps. 27 and 81-89), etc. Similarly, in the consecration of images as described in Var 181-186 the sectarian Mantra is often used together with the Purāṇic and Vedic ones, whereas in Gd I, 48 this ceremony requires the performance of Nyāsas and the use of Tantric Mantras.

The liberal idea that the Brāhmins came to entertain about the Tantras was responsible for the inclusion of Tantric practices

⁵ Dbh VII, 39, 28-31. The above mentioned direction of the Devī bhāgavata is not a mere theory, but was often followed in practice. We learn from Aparārka (com, p. 17) that he was liberal enough to supplement the Vedic customs and rituals with those from the sectarian literatures of the Vāmas, Dakṣinas and others, if the latter did not go against his own; but the customs which were contradictory to those recommended by his own Śāstras were to be discarded.

⁶ Var 66, 10-11b.

⁷ Cf Bhav II, i, 11, 1.

⁸ Sk I, i, 5, 109-110.

⁹ Br 44, 9-10.

¹⁰ Var 127, 63a—*esāgame brāhmaṇasya dikṣā bhūme hy udāhṛtā.*

in the Purāṇic religious rites. The extent of this inclusion even as early as about the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. is found best in the Garuda and the Agni-purāṇa, which show that the frequent performance of Nyāsas and Mudrās and the use of mystic Tantric spells at every step constitute mainly the practical side of the rites. In these two Purāṇas as well as in a few others, the Yantra is recognised as a medium of worship¹¹, and rules are given for its painting.

The inclusion of Tantric practices is not limited to the Purāṇic rites only. The Vedic rites also are sometimes found influenced by these. Thus, the Vaidikī Samdhyā requires the performance of Nyāsa¹². In some Purāṇas there is also the method of Gāyatrī-uddhāra—a mystic Tantric performance which is to precede the repetition of Gāyatrī¹³.

The influence of the sectarian scriptures on the Purāṇic Brāhmins seems to have liberalised, in certain cases, their idea about the lower castes. The Varāha-p. says. "Being remembered, or talked of, or seen, or touched, a devotee of the Bhagavat, even if he be a Cāṇḍāla, purifies (the people) easily"¹⁴. This Purāṇa also recommends that in religious ceremonies such as the consecration of images, the Bhāgavatas should be given preference even over the Brāhmins¹⁵.

In the comparatively late portions of the Purāṇas the position of the spiritual preceptor is raised high, so much so that he is often identified with the highest deity of a sect. Thus, in Var 99 a devotee, who is willing to have 'vrata-dīksā', is to identify his preceptor with Viṣṇu and honour him accordingly. The Brhan-nāradiya-p. says that there is no truth (tattva) higher than the preceptor. This high idea about the preceptor is perhaps one of the reasons why he is found to play an important part in the Purāṇic religious rites.

The gradual recognition of the authority of the Tantras by the Purāṇas, and the latter's absorption of Tantric elements enabled the former to exercise remarkable influence even on the Smṛti-Nibandhas. The writers on Smṛti, which is a continuation of a branch of the Vedic literature, can be divided into two sections, viz., (i) those who adhered to the Vedic customs and rituals, and regarded the orthodox Brahmanical works as authorities, and (ii) others who were liberal enough to admit the influence and authority of the

¹¹ Cf. Gd I, 17, 2—'. . . harim . . . yantra-rūpinam'; Padma-p (Pātāla-kh.) 79, 1; and so on.

¹² Cf. Gd I, 221.

¹³ Cf. Kūr II, 14, 57-61.

¹⁴ Var 211, 88.

¹⁵ Var 181, 20; 183, 25; 186, 23; and so on.

present Purāṇas professing sectarian Hinduism. This division, which is clearly perceptible in the Nibandhas, should be traced to the Smṛti Saṃhitās certainly posterior in time to those of Manu and Yājñavalkya. As we possess very few of the Smṛti works which were written between Yājñavalkya and the Nibandhas, we are not sure when this division began. The later Saṃhitās, found embodied in the Ūnavimśati Saṃhitā (Vanga ed.) and betraying the influence of the Purāṇic Dharma by their references to and enumerations of holy places, their direction regarding the worship of Gaṇeśa, the fourteen Mātrkās, Yama, Śiva and other deities, and the like, seem to point to a fairly early date. Whatever the period of this division may be, it is doubtless that the influence of the Purāṇas on Smṛti was due to the spread and popularity of Purāṇic Hinduism. The mention of the 'Purāṇa' as one of the fourteen sources of 'Dharma'¹⁶ might also work at the basis of this influence.

The somewhat liberal idea held by the authors of the Purāṇas towards the popular practices was mainly responsible for liberalising the views of a very small number of Smṛti-writers who valued the Purāṇic Dharma. Consequently, a few of the comparatively late Smṛti Saṃhitās, which must be dated earlier than the Nibandhas, imbibed Tantric practices to supplement those of Saṃdhyā, Pūjā, etc.

The number of the Smṛti Saṃhitās, which valued the Purāṇas as a source of Dharma and imbibed Tantric practices, was so small that they could affect the Nibandhas very little. Hence in the Nibandhas the influence of the Purāṇas is slow to emerge. There are some commentators on Smṛti Saṃhitās and authors of digests who have intentionally avoided the quoting of passages from the Purāṇas. For instance, Viśvarūpācārya, in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, quotes not even a single line from any Purāṇa, though he profusely draws upon both Sūtra and Saṃhitā works of no less than 37 Smṛti-writers. It is not that before Viśvarūpa the Purāṇas did not contain any Smṛti-matter, but the fact seems to be that Viśvarūpa was quite unwilling to regard the Purāṇas as one of the sources of 'Dharma' perhaps on account of the latter's professing a Dharma which is composite (vyāmiśra) and, consequently, inferior (avara) to the Vedic. Vjñāneśvara, in his Mitākṣarā, follows his predecessor Viśvarūpa in avoiding the Purāṇic passages to a great extent but not totally. The few verses quoted by him from the Purāṇas show that he could not fully ignore the authority of the Purāṇas, though he tried to do so. On the other hand, Bhavadeva quotes, in his

¹⁶ Cf. Yāj. I, 3.

Prāyaścitta-prakarana, a few verses from the Matsya and the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa. There are also other Nibandha-writers who regard the Purāṇas as a source of Dharma, and have no hesitation in drawing upon them ; but even in their works the influence of the Purāṇas is not very great in the beginning, but increases with the progress of time. Such a gradual increase in the Purāṇic influence is due most probably to the growing popularity of Purāṇic Hinduism and thereby of the Purāṇas themselves. But the credit of liberalising the views of the Nibandha-writers should perhaps be given to those few authors of Smṛti Samhitās who first acknowledged the authority of the Purāṇas and imbibed certain Tantric practices.

Thus, primarily the Purāṇas and secondarily the comparatively late Smṛti Samhitās were the causes of the Tantric influence on the Nibandhas. The authorities, viz., the Purāṇas and Smṛti Samhitās, quoted by the authors of the comparatively early Nibandhas to sanction the Tantric practices and the Śākta forms of worship, strengthen this supposition.

It has already been said that, inspite of all their abhorrence of the Tantras, the Purāṇas retained some Tantric elements. The great spread of the Tantric cult among the Hindus and the Buddhists made its influence felt more and more by the Purāṇas. Consequently, the Tantric elements made their way into the Purāṇas in a greater degree as the interpolations in these works were later. On the other hand, Tantric influence on the Nibandhas increased with the greater recognition of the authority of the Purāṇas by the Nibandha-writers, so much so that the Nibandha-kāras like Vidyākara Vājapeyin, Raghunandana and others recognise fully the authority of the Tantras and draw profusely upon them on almost all matters concerning Dharma¹⁷.

¹⁷ See my articles in ABORS, Vol XV, 1934, pp 220 ff, and Vol XVI, 1935, pp 202 ff ; and IHQ, Vol IX, 1933, pp. 678 ff

APPENDIX I

From early times the Purāṇas have been regarded as one of the sources of Dharma (cf. Yāj. I, 3). This tradition is the main cause why the Nibandha-writers have drawn so frequently upon the Purāṇas in their respective works¹. The numerous verses quoted by them from the different Purāṇas help us in forming an idea of the Smṛti materials these works contained during the ages they were used. The importance of these quotations is also keenly felt in determining the dates of the different units of the individual Purāṇas. Hence we have traced a good number of them in the extant Purāṇic works. A list of these traced verses, mainly on Dharma, is given below.

Besides the quotations noted in the following list, there are also others which, being absent from those editions of the extant Purāṇas which we have used in this work, are not mentioned here for want of space. The more important of these untraceable verses will, however, be given in a separate list.

As it was not possible for us to prepare, in all cases, the indexes of texts and authors quoted or referred to in the numerous commentaries and Nibandhas which we used in preparing the following list, we had to depend on those given in some of the printed editions of these works. So, if there are any defects in this list, which, we believe, are not many, they are due more to these indexes than to ourself.

It is to be noted that the following list does not include those verses which, though quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas without any express mention of the respective sources, are traceable in the extant Purāṇas; because lines are often found common to the Smṛti Samhitās, epics, Purāṇas and other works of the Sanskrit literature. (See footnote 31 in Part I, chap. 2).

¹ Cf., for example, the discussion on the sources of Dharma in Smṛti-candrīkā, I, pp. 3 ff.

I. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'MĀRKANDEYA-P'
OR (IN A VERY FEW CASES) 'MĀRKANDEYA'²
IN

1. Aparārka's com. Mārkaṇḍeya-p on Yāj.,	Mārkaṇḍeya-p.
p 2 = 40, 29-34a	p 1022
p. 39 = 34, 109	(twice) = 39, 12b and 13-15a.
p 146 = 29, 33	pp 1023-5 = 39, 16-38a
p 153 = 29, 35-36	pp 1025-6 = 40, 15-25
p. 173 = 34, 53b-54.	p 1031 = 10, 26-28a
p 279 = 34, 63	
p 385 = 131, 25 The verse 'yaṇḍā-dāna' is not found	2. Adbhutasāgara of Ballāscana,
	pp 253-254 = 58, 55
p 434 = 30, 19 and 22-23	pp 254-255 = 58, 6-9
p 541 = 30, 17.	p 256 = 58, 11-13a
p 554 = 32, 10	p 257 = 58, 16-19a
p 923 = 35, 36-38a.	p 259 = 58, 20b-28.
pp. 968-970 = 11, 1-19	p 261 = 58, 30-33a
	p 262 = 58, 34-36a and 37

² The verses of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the word 'mārkaṇḍeya' being often used in the masculine gender), quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas, are, except in a very few cases, not found in the present Mārkaṇḍeya-p. For instance, the verses of 'Mārkaṇḍeya', quoted in the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I, 236 and 254 and III, 19, 287, 289, 316 and 324, are absent from the present Mārkaṇḍeya-p.

The facts that the great majority of the verses ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' is found in the Viṣṇudharmottara wherein the sage Mārkaṇḍeya is the speaker, that the same verses are sometimes quoted as from the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' in some places and from 'Mārkaṇḍeya' in others, and that in some cases verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara are quoted with the words *viṣṇudharmottare mārkaṇḍeyah*, show that 'Mārkaṇḍeya', to whom these verses are ascribed in the Nibandhas, is, in the great majority of cases, identical with the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, the speaker in the Viṣṇudharmottara. In those cases in which the verses ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' are not found in the Viṣṇudharmottara, the changes in the text of the latter are to be held responsible. As to the few cases in which verses of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' are found in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., it may be said that due to a confusion created by the similarity between the name of the sage and the title of the Purāṇa, verses of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. were sometimes wrongly ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' or *vice versa*. For instance, the verses '*eka-bhaktēna naktēna*' and '*śukla-pakṣasya pūrvāhne*', which are quoted as from the 'Mārkaṇḍeya-p.' in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, i, p. 100 and III, i, p. 320 respectively but are not found in the present Purāṇa of the same title, are ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the word 'mārkaṇḍeya' being used in the masculine gender) in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III, ii, pp. 176 and 575 respectively. See also Aparārka's com., p. 206, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 64, Smṛti-tattva, I, 109 and II, 88 and 95, and so on, wherein the former verse is ascribed to 'Mārkaṇḍeya'.

Mārkaṇḍeya-p		Mārkaṇḍeya-p	
p 263	= 58, 38b-40a, 36b, 37a and 40b.	p 160	= 10, 74
pp 264-5	= 58, 40b-47	5 Smṛti-candrikā of Devanabhāṭṭa,	
pp 266-7	= 58, 48b-53a	II, 263	= 34, 67b-68a and 70b-71
pp 267-8	= 58, 70b-80, 56, 75b-79a, 65-67, and 69-73a	297	= 34, 52
p 506		310	= 35, 36-37
(twice)	= 43, 4 and 20	364	= 29, 33
p 507		567	= 29, 29
(twice)	= 43, 19 and 15.	582	= 29, 22b-23a
p 508		588	= 29, 24b-25a
(twice)	= 43, 27 and 16	589	
p 509 (four times)	= 43, 17, 18a, 29 and 31	(twice)	= 29, 26b-27 and 28
	The line 'dr̥tvā tu tādṛśam' is not found	592	= 29, 46
p 518	= 43, 35-37.	593	= 29, 31
p 523	= 43, 10	596	= 29, 39
p 524	= 43, 24	614	= 34, 59
p 525	= 43, 5	IV, 2	= 31, 3-15 (except verses 5 and 14)
p 527	= 43, 32	3	= 31, 16
p 528	= 43, 33	8	= 30, 19-20 and 22-23
p 530	= 43, 28	21-22	= 33, 1-8a (except 6a)
p 531	= 43, 23a.	27	= 31, 21-22.
p. 535	= 43, 8.	97	= 33, 4b-5a
p 539	= 43, 26	213	= 32, 10
p 541	= 43, 22 (Cf. also 43, 13a).	V, 78	= 35, 39 and 40-41a
p. 542	= 43, 30.	6 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,	
p. 544	= 43, 7.	Vol I,	
p 545	= 43, 14.	p 61	= 46, 23-25.
p 546	= 43, 6	p 83	= 57, 34.
p. 548	= 43, 12.	p 118	= 49, 67-72
p. 553		pp 121-122	= 49, 37-40.
(twice)	= 43, 9b and 11	p 142	= 34, 109
p. 556	= 43, 9	pp 946-7	= 15, 60-61.
p. 557	= 43, 21.	Vol II, Part 1,	
3. Dānaśāgara of Ballālasena,		pp. 26-7	= 57, 1-3a, 7b-8a, 59-62a, 10a and 62b-63.
fol. 20b	= 16, 36b-37a.	p. 34	= 34, 109.
fol. 163b	= 10, 57a.	p 37	= 16, 36b-37a.
fol. 189b	= 10, 57a.	pp. 40-50	= 49, 66b-72.
4. Hāratalā of Aniruddhabhāṭṭa,		p. 52	= 49, 37-40.
p. 30	= 51, 105-107.	p. 326	= 16, 61 and 63. The line 'dharmārthakāma-samsiddhyas' is not found.

Mārkaṇḍeya-p	
Vol III, Part i,	
pp 12-13	= 31, 8-10 and 12-17 The line ' <i>piśūcot-vam anuprāptiḥ</i> ' (on p 13) is not found
p 81	= 31, 3-4
p 105	= 30, 5a
p 138	= 30, 6b-7a
p 151	= 31, 8 and 12.
p 171	= 31, 20
p 193	= 33, 1 ff
p 197	— (=Br 220, 45b-48a)
p 250	= 31, 21-22
p 259	= 31, 21a and 22
pp 264-5	= 33, 1-5 and 6b-8a The first two lines ' <i>kanyā-gate savi-tari</i> ' etc, which are not found in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p, are the same as Br 220, 14
pp. 268-9	= 33, 8b to the end.
p 276	= 31, 20-22
p 296	= 30, 12.
p. 411	= 32, 28
p 421	= 31, 34
p. 427	= 29, 27.
p. 430	= 29, 26b
p 432	= 29, 28.
p 437	= 29, 31
p 533	= 32, 14b-15a and 18b-c
pp. 536-7	= 49, 64-72
pp. 542-3	= 32, 9-10
p. 549	
(twice)	= 32, 11. The line ' <i>varjyās cābhīsavā nityam</i> ' is not found
pp. 563-4	= 32, 12-13a and 14a.
p. 564	= 32, 25b-c.
pp. 572-3	= 32, 17b-18.
pp. 801-2	= 35, 36-37.
p. 910	= 34, 52.
p. 931	= 34, 109,
p. 957	= 34, 67b-68a.
p. 961	= 34, 69-70.
p. 962	= 34, 63.
p. 1014	= 31, 31a.
p. 1063	= 31, 60a and 62.

Mārkaṇḍeya-p	
p 1067	= 31, 60a and 62
pp 1082-1091	= 96, 7c to the end, 97, 1-26
pp 1097-8	= 32, 30-34
pp 1134-5	= 31, 30 and 32-34
p 1140	= 31, 37
p 1182	= 31, 36
p 1198	= 31, 39a
p 1203	= 31, 38
p 1210	= 31, 50b-51
p 1221	= 31, 40a
pp 1224-5	= 31, 40b-41a
p 1230	= 31, 40-41
pp 1241-2	= 31, 41b-42a
p 1252	= 31, 42b
p 1253	= 31, 43.
p 1279	= 31, 44
p 1355	= 31, 46
p 1388	= 31, 48.
p 1389	= 31, 50
p 1393	= 31, 52-53a.
p 1424	= 31, 55a
p 1428	= 31, 54.
p 1495	= 31, 59
p. 1500	= 31, 56b-58a.
p 1517	= 31, 62.
pp 1539-1540	= 88, 14-18 and 20.
p 1544	= 30, 7a.
p 1546	= 30, 6a The line ' <i>vrddhi-śrāddham</i> ' is not found.
p 1554	= 30, 5b.
pp 1601-2	= 30, 8-11. The line ' <i>ti brūyāt prayatnena</i> ' is not found.
p 1636	= 30, 12.
Vol III, Part ii,	
p 387	= 31, 21a and 22b.
p. 460	= 33, 1a
464	— (=Br 220, 45b-48a).
p. 477	= 29, 14.
p 503	= 31, 21-22.
pp. 503-4	= 31, 21a and 22.
pp. 510-511	= 33, 1-5 and 6a-8a. The verse ' <i>kanyāgate savi-tari</i> ', which is not found in the Mārkaṇḍeya-p., is the same as Br 220, 14.

	Mārkaṇḍeya-p		Mārkaṇḍeya-p
pp 514-5	= 33, 8b to the end	fol 65a	= 34, 91b
p 522	= 31, 20-22.	fol 67a	= 29, 35-36
p 534	= 30, 12		
p 608	= 31, 60a and 62	8 Madana-	
p 612		pūṇyāta of	
(thrice)	= 31, 60a and 62, 31,	Madanapāla,	
	61b and 60b-61a		
pp 807-8	= 95, 7	p 67	= 39, 12-14
7 Kṛtyācāra		p 119	= 34, 83-84
of Śrīdatta		pp 122-123	= 35, 33-35 (expect
Upādhyāya,			33b)
		p 125	= 34, 114 and 116 The
fol 11a	= 34, 70-71		other verses are not
fol 22a	= 35, 36-37a		found.
fol 28b	= 34, 52a	pp 473-474	= 31, verses 7-10, 12-13
			and 15

II. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'VĀYU-P'.

OR 'VĀYAVĪYA' IN

1. Aparārka's com on Yāj,	Vāyu-p.		Vāyu-p
p. 258		p 490	= 75, 54b-55a
(twice)	= 78, 51b-52a and 52b-54	p 493	= 78, 48b-49a
	(except 53a).	pp 502-503	= 74, 20b-25a and 26-28
p 387	= 77, 27		The lines 'svargā-
p 448	= 79, 67		pavarga-sopānam'
pp 454-455	= 79, 68 and 78-80.		a n d 'bhrāturaḥ
	(Three lines 'anāś-		sarva-bhūtānām'
	ramī tapas tepe'		are not found.
	etc are not found).	p 506	= 75, 43
p 473	— Of the four lines	p 551	= 76 31-33a and 34b-c
	quoted, only one	p 553	— Of the 21 lines quoted,
	tallies with Vā 78,		only the first three
	31b; the other		and the last one
	three are not found.		tally with Vā 78,
p. 475	= 74, 4.		8b-9a and 78, 10b
pp. 487-488	= 80, 39-40, 4, 37, 2, 5,		respectively. These
	6, 7, 8, 16 and		21 lines are the
	19-21. 74, 1-2.		same as Bḍ III, 14,
	Verses beginning		8b-9, 10b-12, and
	with 'śrāddhesū-		14b-20.
	pānahau dadyāt',	p. 554	= 80, 42b-45a and 47-48.
	'tāla-pūrṇe tu yo	p. 559	= 81, 18.
	dadyāt', and 'vya-	p. 560	= 82, 2a.
	janam tāla-vṛntam	p. 924	= 79, 24b-25.
	ca' are found to	2. Adbhutasāgara	
	tally with Bḍ III,	of Ballālasena,	
	16, 8-9 and 10.	p. 506	= 19, 18.

Vāyu-p	
p 507 (twice) = 19, 17 and 25	
p 508 (thrice) = 19, 13, 27 and 14	
p 509 (four times) = 19, 16, 33 and 15	The verse 'nagnam śra- vanakam' is not found
3 Dānasāgara of Ballālasena,	
fol 187a = 80, 59	
4 Kullūkabhatta's commentary,	
on Manu III, p 267 — (cf Bd III, 14, 11b).	
on Manu IV, 49 = 78, 60.	
5. Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇa- bhṭta,	
II, 589 = 79, 18	
IV, 25 = 80, 45	
203-204 — These verses tally with Bd III, 14, 14b-15, 16b and 17b-20.	
208 (twice) = 78, 31b-32a and 40.	
331 = 75, 54b-55a.	
366 = 75, 43.	
370-371 = 75, 22.	
392-393 = 80, 2.	
393 = 59, 49.	
6. Caturvarga- cintāmanī of Hemādri,	
Vol. I,	
p. 90 = 79, 46b-47a.	
p. 100 = 79, 88-89.	
pp. 138-9 = 75, 20.	
Vol II, Part i.	
pp. 34-5 = 79, 46b-47a.	

Vāyu-p	
p 38 = 79, 88-89	
Vol III, Part i,	
p 10 = 73, 55	
p 17 — (=Bd III 20, 12b-14a The first verse is not found)	
p 25 = 81, 7 9a The line 'pūjāhānām sadot- karsah' is not found	
pp 27-8 — (=Bd III, 20, 2b-5; 19, 50-53a, and 16, 55b-56a and 59 The remaining lines are not found).	
pp 37-8 = 31, 29a Cf also 30, 22-24.	
p 80 (twice) = 75, 22a The line 'prāg- daksmābhūmukho' is not found.	
p. 162 = 78, 23	
pp 186-7 = 81, 1-9a	
p 213 = 81, 18.	
p 246 = 80, 45	
p 279 = 81, 1-2a.	
p 368 = 79, 80.	
p 413 = 71, 69-71.	
p. 419 = 79, 53-55a.	
p. 428 = 79, 16b-17a.	
p. 430 = 79, 18.	
p. 432 = 79, 7 and 9.	
p. 435 = 79, 8, 19 and 48b-49a.	
pp. 439-440 = 79, 13 and 15b-16.	
p 467 = 79, 78.	
p. 474 = 79, 79-81.	
pp. 475-6 = 79, 67-68. Four lines 'ugreṇa tapasā' etc. (on p. 475), which are not found in the present Vāyu- p., are the same as Bd III, 15, 40a, 39a and 41.	
p. 504 = 83, 60b-66, 67b-68a and 69b.	
p. 511 = 79, 5.	
p. 520 = 78, 31b-32a.	

Vāyu-p.	Vāyu-p
pp. 522-3 = 78, 32b-36a and 38-39 Four lines from ' <i>vandikais cāpi</i> ' on p 522 and the verse ' <i>pūjayisyanti</i> ' on p 523 are not found.	p 737 (twice) = 75, 12-13 and 14-15 p 746 = 80, 22, 26b-27a, 28b- 29a, 30 and 31b- 33a
p 544 (twice) = 78, 8b-c The verse ' <i>akṛtāgrayanam</i> ' is not found	pp 1006-7 = 79, 60 p 1011 = 75, 44. p 1016 = 79, 61 p 1019 = 79, 87 pp 1079- 1080 = 74, 15a, 15c-17a, 15b and 17c-20a
p 554 = 78, 9b-10 p 555 = 78, 11b-14, 9a, 11a and 15	p 1097 = 83, 10-12 pp 1127-8 = 83, 52-56
pp 597-8 = 83, 3-9 The verse ' <i>gayāyām aksayam</i> <i>śrāddham</i> ' which is not found in the Vāyu-p, is the same as Bd II, 19, 13	p 1179 = 74, 4 p 1208 = 74, 15a and 15c-17b p 1330 = 75, 54b-55a p 1397 = 76, 42a p 1420 = 75, 43 p 1428 = 75, 22a p 1431 = 75, 22 pp 1466-7 = 75, 52 p 1497 = 76, 43 p 1509 = 76, 31-33 and 34b-c.
pp 602-3 = 80, 42b-43 p 604 (twice) = 80, 44, 80, 45a and 47-48.	Vol III, Part II.
p 643 = 75, 51. p 672 = 80, 20-21 The verse ' <i>rājatair bhājanaiḥ</i> ' is not found.	pp. 453-4 = 81, 1-9a p 455 = 81, 9a p 492 = 81, 13 p 524 = 81, 1-2a. pp. 561-2 = (=Bd III, 17, 21b-22a; the remaining lines are not found).
p 681 = 75, 7. p. 682 = 75, 33 p. 684 = 75, 34-35. p 686 = 75, 9a-b and 8. p. 689 = 75, 10-11. p. 694 (twice) = 80, 37; 80, 39-40.	7. Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya,
p 698 = 80, 5. p. 702 = 80, 7. p 703 (twice) = 80, 16; 80, 8. p 705 = (=Bd III, 16, 10). p 706 = (=Bd III, 16, 8). pp 712-3 = (=Bd III, 16, 9). p. 719 = 80, 20-21; 74, 1a and 2c; 80, 19. The verse ' <i>tila-pūrṇāni</i> <i>yo dadyaūt</i> ' is not found.	fol. 2a = 78, 60 „ 10a = 79, 38 and 39b „ 12b = 79, 33a and 34a. „ 41a = 79, 46b-47a. „ 64a = 79, 88.
p. 722 = 74, 2a-b p. 734 = 75, 59b-60. pp. 734-5 = 75, 31.	8. Kṛtya-ratnā- kara of Caṇdeśvara, fol. 173b = 81, 2-4. fol. 188a = 81, 4a.

9. Mādhavā- cārya's com on the Parāśara- smṛti, Vol. I, part II, p 369 p 412 p 431 p 438	Vāyu-p. — These verses, which are not found in the Vāyu- p, are the same as Bd III, 14, 14b-20 (ex- cept 16a and 17a) = 75, 54b-55a. = 75, 22 = 76, 31.	Vāyu-p. pp. 274-275 = 82, 9 and 43 77, 96b- 97a, 98-99, 101-103, 105-106a, (t w o lines 'snātvā d.na- trayam' etc. on p 275 of the Tir- tha-c are not found), 108a and 109. pp 280-281 = 108, 13a, 14-19, (one line 'rāma-tīrthe narah snātvā' is not found), 21b- 23a, (one line 'āgatya ca' on p 281 of the Tirtha-c is not found), 22 and 28-30 p. 282 = 108, 20 pp 284-285 = 110, 9-15b, 19-20b, 20c, (one line 'ulāyya- dadhi' is found in the footnote on p 443 of the Vāyu-p), 56-59a and 61a. pp 285-286 = 105, 18-19a, 26 and 33 p 286 = 108, 71b, (one line 'pūtah etc.' is not found). 111, 17. p 288 = 110, 17 and 21-22. p. 289 = 110, 23-24 and 30-32. pp. 290-292 = 110, 34-42 and 44-45. p. 296 = 110, 8-9, 62a and 65. pp. 298-301 = 111, 1-3. 110, 21, 17-18a and 23-24. 111, 4-6b, 7, 8-10a, 12, 10b-11a, 13-14 and 15-22. Some verses, which are not found in the running text, are given in the foot- note on p. 443 of the Vāyu-p. p. 303 = 109, 43. The other three lines are not found. p. 309 = 111, 23a-b and 24-26.
10 Madana- pārijāta of Madanapāla, p 486 p 552 p 558 p 579 p 581 p 591 p. 600	= 81, 2-4a. — These verses are found not in the Vāyu but in the Brahmandā-p. (III, 14, 9b, 10b-12 and 14b-17a). = 79, 53a The other two lines 'grhasthānām' etc are not found. = 80, 2 = 75, 54b-55a = 75, 57b-58a, 71-72 and 75b-76a. = 75, 43.	
11. Prāyaścitta- viveka of Śūlapāni, p. 306 p. 347 pp 429-430 p. 474	= 78, 48b-49a. = 18, 12. = 78, 69. 79, 20-22a. = 79, 24b-25.	
12. Tīrtha-cintā- mani of Vācas- patiśāstra, p 7	= 110, 2-3.	

Vāyu-p	Vāyu-p
pp. 310-312 = 111, 30a, 31-32, 35-36, 33-34 and 38-40 One line 'śrīd- dhāya p i n d a- dūnāya' and one verse 'āmraś ca siktāh' on p 311 of the Tirtha-c are not found	pp 325-333 = 112, 21-22b, 25-26, (two lines are found in the foot- note on p 451 of the Vāyu-p), 32b, 41b, 46-49a, 30-31, (four lines 'udbhū- gāh' etc are not found), 49b-53, (the lines 'śrāddhī nāma' etc on p 327 of the Tirtha-c are not found), 56-58a, 60, and 58b-59 108, 12, 24, (five lines 'rīme vanam gate' etc on p 328 of the Tirtha-c are found in the footnote of the Vāyu-p, p 436), 32a, 43b-44a, (Vāyu-p pp 436 7, footnote, verses 1-2, 5-15, 17, 16, 18-26a, 28-32, 34b- 38a, three lines 'tam drstā' etc on p 332 of the Tirtha-c are not found).
pp 314-318 = 111, 41, 44a, 15a, 44b, 45b-c, 46-49a, 50- 52, 54a, 56b-63, 69-71a, 64-68, 73, (two verses are found in the foot- note on p 449 of the Vāyu-p), 74- 75b	
p 320 = 105, 26	
p 321 = 107, 46 and 48	
pp. 321-323 = 111, 77, 78a, 79 Three lines 'drstā natvā' t h a', 'gayāyām dharma-prsthe' and 'gayā-śrīse 'ksaya- vate' are given in the footnote on p 449 of the Vāyu-p 111, 76, 82-84 and 75. 109, 5b and 7b-12 One line 'upendra tvam' on p 323 of the Tirtha-c is not found.	

III. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'BRAHMĀṆḌA-P.' OR 'BRAHMĀṆḌA' IN

1. Kālaviveka of Jimūtavāhana,	Brahmāṇḍa-p.	Brahmāṇḍa-p.
p. 90 = II, 24, 56b-57		p. 390 = II, 21, 144a and 147.
p. 347 = II, 28, 41.		2. Aparārka's com on Yūj.,
p. 351 = II, 28, 41		
p. 354 (twice) = II, 28, 47-48.		p. 42 = III, 14, 94b-95a.
p. 366 = III, 19, 48b-49a.		p 123 = III, 14, 70.
		p. 279 = III, 14, 101-103a

	Brahmānda-p	4 Smṛti-candrikā of Devana- bhaṭṭa,	Brahmānda-p.
p 416	= III, 19, 14c-19		
pp. 440-441	= III, 15, 63a and 64a. III, 15, 7b-10a. III, 19, 22b-26a. III, 9, 73 One verse 'pratyūsa- nnam adhiyānam' on p 441 is not found in the Bd	II, 237 = III, 14, 70. 243 (twice) = III, 14, 72, 65b and 93b. 262 = III, 14, 102b-103a. 270-1 = III, 14, 94b-95a 287 = III, 11, 75b-76a. The verse 'c̥hanna-mūlā grhītavayāh' is not found	
p 459	= III, 14, 26		
p 462	= III, 14, 97b-98a		
p 472	= III, 14, 32-33 One verse 'go-gajāsuvūdi- prsthesu' is not found	IV, 157 = III, 15, 64a 157-158 = III, 9, 73 159 = III, 15, 63a 205 = III, 14, 58b-59a 208 (twice) = III, 14, 34 and 35b- 36a	
p 473	= III, 14, 34, 35b-36a and 43b-44a	263 = III, 11, 65b-70a 264 = III, 11, 70b-71a. 270 = III, 14, 97b The line 'uccāvacaḥ' is not found	
p 478	= III, 11, 81-82a. The verse 'tatra siddhī- thakān' is not found	281 = III, 11, 17b-18, 20b and 19b 353 = III, 11, 80b-c. The verse 'na cāśru', which is not found in the Bd, is the same as Vā 83, 77.	
p 486	= III, 11, 69b-71a	365 (twice) = III, 11, 52 and 56. The line 'vajrena vā kuśaṁ vūpi' is not found	
pp. 489-490	= III, 11, 91a, 93-95, 99- 100, 108b-111, 113b- 115a, 115b-116a III, 12, 37 The verse 'nvāsas cañ a kīā- nām' is not found	372 = III, 11, 61b, 377 = III, 11, 62b-63a	
p. 506	= III, 11, 52 and 56		
p 507			
(twice)	= III, 11, 68a, 55 and 65b-66a The line 'būla-patreṇa dātā- yam' is not found		
p 510	= III, 16 2, III, 11, 2 The line 'daridro 'pi yathāśakti' is not found		
8 Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena,		5 Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,	
p. 524	— (=Vā 19, 22).	I,	
p. 527	— (=Vā 19, 31)		
p. 531	— (=Vā 19, 21b)		
p. 537			
(twice)	— (=Vā 19, 23b and 28).	pp 160-163 = III, 16, 2-5a, 8b-13a, 16b-17a, 18b-21a, 23b-26a, 27b-28a, 29-31a, 32b-34a, 35b-36a and 41-	
p. 538	— (=Vā 19, 24b).		
p. 539	— (=Vā 19, 24).		
p. 542	— (=Vā 19, 30).		
p. 544	— (=Vā 19, 5).		
p. 545	— (=Vā 19, 12)		

Brahmānda-p	Brahmānda-p
42a The line 'dātāram upatis- thanti' and seven lines from 'athyān āvasuthān' on p 162 are not found	p 520 (twice) = III, 14, 35b-36a. III, 14, 39b-40a
p. 232 = II, 19, 157	p 549 — Cf III, 14, 13
pp 296-7 = II, 16, 5 For the re- maining verses of Bd II, 15, 31b ff	p 566 = III, 14, 19b and 20 pp 608-9 = III, 14, 53-56
III, 1,	p 621 = III, 14, 26 The verse 'yanna sarvūya' is not found
pp 36-7 = III, 9, 2b, 5b-6, 8b, 3a and 11-12 Also cf. III, 9, 40 ff	p 638 = III, 11, 74b-75 The last line 'agni- kārye ca yāge ca' is not found
pp 40-41 = III, 9, 16-19, 21-26a and 35b The verse 'yūyam śarira-kartārah' is not found.	p 639 = III, 11, 75b-76a p 682 = III, 11, 69b-70a p 684 = III, 11, 70b-72a p 687 = III, 11, 42b-43a p 735 = III, 11, 55 and 54 p 736 = III, 11, 65b-66a. The verse 'dadyāt kṛ- mena' is not found
p 44 (twice) = III, 9, 55-56; III, 10, 57b-59	p 737 = III, 11, 47b-49 p. 902 = III, 14, 102b-103a. p 981 = III, 14, 94b-95a.
pp. 54-55 = III, 10, 3-4a, 52b 53, 75-77a, 84a, 95- 86a, 88-89, 93-94 and 96-97a	p 1043 = III, 11, 2 pp 1081-2 = III, 11, 22b-33a. p 1097 = III, 19, 9b-10, 8b and 11.
pp 60-61 = III, 9, 52b-53a, 54, 59b-65, 29-30, 33b and 34b (Also cf III, 10, 5-6a).	p 1211 = III, 11, 81 The verse 'tatra siddhārthu- kān' is not found.
p. 70 = III, 10, 99-100	pp. 1335-6 = III, 11, 99, 103-104 and 100-102. The line 'evam lakṣa- nake' is not found.
p. 133 (twice) = III, 11, 93-94a; III, 12, 3a and 4a. The lines 'vudhina sā tu' and 'tasya putrāh' are not found.	p. 1348 = III, 12, 37 p 1355 = III, 11, 91a and 93-95. p. 1396 = III, 12, 44b. p. 1397 = III, 11, 44a. p. 1414 = III, 11, 56
pp. 134-5 = III, 12, 4b-6a and 7- 16a. The line 'sarvāpsarobhīh' is not found.	p. 1415 (twice) = III, 11, 52a. The line 'vajrena vā' is not found.
pp. 271-2 = III, 17, 21b-22a.	p. 1429 = III, 11, 61b
p. 361 — (=Vā 79, 80).	p 1431 = III, 11, 58
p. 386 = III, 19, 22b-23a and 24b-26a.	p. 1462 = III, 11, 62b-63a.
p. 403 = III, 15, 28.	p. 1472 = III, 11, 33b-34a.
p. 442 = III, 9, 73.	p. 1509 = III, 12, 31b-34a and 35.
p. 519 = III, 14, 34.	p. 1574 — (=Vā 76, 21b-22).

IV. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'VIṢṆU-P.' IN

1 Kālaviveka of Jimūtavāhana,	Viṣnu-p	Viṣnu-p
		p 159 = III, 13, 16 and 11-12a
p 14	= II, 8, 64-65	
p 17	= II, 8, 25-30	
p 20	= III, 14, 16	
p 389-390	= II, 8, 72-73 Many of the quoted lines are missing in our edition of the Viṣnu-p	4 Dānasāgara of Ballālasena, fol 21a = III, 12, 20.
		5 Kullūka- bhaṭṭa's com- mentary, on Manu, I, 2 = VI, 5, 74 I, 69 = I, 3, 12-13 and 10 I, 71 = I, 3, 14 II, 32 = III, 10, 9 II, 94 = IV, 10, 10 III, 105 = III, 11, 105. III, 280 = II, 8, 57. IV, 151 = III, 11, 8b.
2 Aparārka's com on Yāj,		6 Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇa- bhaṭṭa, I, 28 = VI, 2, 15. 52 = III, 10, 8a. 157 = III, 14, 12 193 = III, 10, 23-24. 201 = III, 10, 18b-23a. 214 = III, 10, 16a. II, 242 = III, 11, 15-16. 255 = III, 11, 19. 300 = III, 12, 20. 333-4 = III, 11, 24-25. 366 (twice) = III, 11, 101. The other quotation is not traceable. 367 = III, 11, 98. 510-511 = III, 11, 26-28a. 525 = III, 11, 31-35. 528 = III, 11, 38b-39a. 582-583 = III, 11, 49-54. 588 = III, 11, 56. 594 = III, 11, 105. 596 = III, 11, 69.
p 6	= III, 6, 28-29	
pp 20-21	= III, 8, 11b The other quotation is not found	
p 50	= III, 11, 98	
p. 79	= III, 10, 13-15a	
p. 126	= III, 11, 21	
p 151	= III, 11, 88-95 The last three lines of the quoted passage are not found.	
p 172	= III, 18, 97-102.	
p 173	= III, 12, 2	
p 174	= III, 12, 38-39.	
p 227	= III, 12, 22	
pp 420-421	= III, 14, 26 to the end.	
p 425	= III, 14, 12-13 and 15.	
pp. 433-434	= III, 13, 30-33 (except 34b and 35a).	
p. 502	= III, 15, 28b-34.	
p 514	= III, 15, 10.	
p 515	= III, 13, 5-6. III, 10, 5a.	
p. 530	= III, 13, 29.	
p. 892	= III, 11, 98.	
p. 986	= VI, 7, 31	
p. 1022	= VI, 7, 40.	
p. 1025	= VI, 7, 43-44.	
p. 1026		
(twice)	= VI, 7, 45 and 89.	
3. Hāratalā of Aniruddha- bhaṭṭa,		
p. 156	= III, 13, 10.	

Viṣṇu-p.

608	=	III, 11, 84-85
611-612	=	III, 11, 88-95
613	=	III, 11, 74b and 82b
630	=	III, 11, 109
IV, 8-9	=	III, 13, 30-38a
22	=	III, 14, 15
28	=	III, 14, 12 and 15b-c
35-36	=	III, 14, 7-9 and 16-18
317		
(twice)	=	III, 15, 24 The other quotation is not found
348	=	III, 15, 32-34
433	=	III, 10, 4
436	=	III, 10, 5a

7 Śrī-bhāṣya of Rāmānuja,

p 12, lines	
14-15	= VI, 6, 12
p 14, lines	
15-19	= VI, 7, 53, I, 2, 6, I, 4, 38
&c	&c

Many quotations, which have been traced by the editor of the Bhāṣya

8 Caturvarga-cintāmani of Hemādri,

I,

p. 66	=	III, 14, 7-9 and 16
p 90	=	III, 12, 20
p 141	=	III, 13, 5-6.

II, 1,

p. 18	=	III, 6, 28-29
pp 20-21	=	III, 6, 21b-24.
p. 27	=	II, 3, 1 and 23-25.
p 35	=	III, 12, 20.

III, 1,

p. 8	=	III, 14, 22-23.
pp. 11-12	=	III, 14, 1-2.
p. 37	=	I, 5, 33-34a.
p. 105	=	III, 13, 6b.

Viṣṇu-p

p 171	=	III, 14, 3
pp 174-6	=	III, 14, 7-9 and 16-18
p 191		
(twice)	=	III, 10, 4, III, 13, 5-6
p 228	=	III, 14, 15
p 252	=	III, 14, 12 and 15b-c
p 259	=	III, 14, 4
p 276	=	III, 14, 3-6
p 431	=	III, 11, 67
p 432	=	III, 11, 61
p 438	=	III, 11, 105
pp 448-9	=	III, 15, 2b-4
p 477	=	III, 18, 103
p 738	=	III, 14, 24 The line 'sa bhuktva' is not found
p 868	=	III, 11, 24
p 874	=	III, 11, 25
p 910	=	III, 12, 24a
p 913		
(twice)	=	III, 12, 20 Cf III, 17, 5 ff, and III, 18, 34 ff.
p 924	=	III, 11, 27-28a
p 929	=	III, 11, 26
pp 943-4	=	III, 11, 31-35
pp 991-2	=	III, 11, 19
p 1015	=	III, 15, 9-10
p 1033	=	III, 14, 24
pp. 1091-2	=	III, 15, 29b-34. The line 'ślokaṁ imāmi ca' and the verse 'mātāmahas tat-pitā ca' are not found
p 1135	=	III, 15, 8 and 10-11.
p 1140	=	III, 15, 13
p 1180	=	Cf III, 11, 104
p. 1194	=	III, 15, 12
p. 1198	=	III, 15, 15
p. 1221	=	III, 15, 17a.
p. 1222	=	III, 15, 17b
p. 1229	=	III, 15, 17-18a.
p. 1241	=	III, 15, 18b-19a.
p. 1252	=	III, 15, 19a.
p 1254	=	III, 15, 19b-20a.
p. 1278	=	III, 15, 20b.
p. 1388	=	III, 15, 26b-27a.
p. 1389	=	III, 15, 28b-29a.
p. 1495	=	III, 15, 46b-47.

	Viṣnu-p.
p 1496-7	= III, 15, 41b-44.
pp 1526-7	= III, 14, 26
p 1544	= III, 10, 5a
p 1555	= III, 13, 3
III, n,	
pp 138-9	= III, 8, 9
p 199	
(twice)	= III, 18, 96 and 97b
p 457,	= III, 10, 4
p 458	= III, 13, 5-6
p 500	= III, 14, 15
p 504	= III, 14, 3b-4
p 521	= III, 14, 3-6
p 643	= III, 14, 7-9 and 16.
p 650	= III, 14, 12-13.
pp 658-9	= VI, 2, 15
p 682	= III, 11, 115-116a
p 684	= III, 11, 116
p 696	= III, 11, 98
p. 737	= III, 10, 8a
p 809	= III, 9, 25 The verse ' <i>dvā dwe ca</i> ' is not found.
9 Krtyācāra of	
Śrīdatta	
Upādhyāya,	
fol. 1b	
(twice)	= III, 11, 5
„ 4a	= III, 11, 14b.
„ 5a	= III, 11, 15-16
„ 15b	= III, 11, 21
„ 18b	= III, 12, 20b
„ 28b	= III, 12, 24a
„ 29b	= III, 11, 98
„ 45b	= III, 11, 26.
„ 49b	= III, 11, 27a
„ 54b	= III, 11, 31-35.
„ 55a	= III, 11, 39.
„ 57a	= III, 11, 40.
„ 64b	= III, 11, 102.
„ 65b	= III, 11, 48-55a.
„ 67a	= III, 11, 64.
„ 71a	= III, 11, 77.
„ 71b	
(twice)	= III, 11, 78a and 86b.

	Viṣnu-p.
„ 72b	= III, 11, 80a.
10 Prāyaścitta- viveka of Śūlapāni,	
p 7	= VI, 5, 26a.
p 31	= II, 6, 35, 37 and 41
p 32	= II, 6, 34
p 285	= III, 11, 115-117.
pp 367-368	= III, 11, 115-116.
p 368	= III, 15, 10
p 399	= III, 18, 39-42.
p 474	= III, 17, 6.
11 Madana-pāri- jāta of Madanapāla,	
p 43	= III, 11, 9
p 44	= III, 11, 12b and 14b
p 45	= III, 11, 15
pp 67-68	= VI, 7, 40 One verse is not found
pp 117-118	= III, 12, 22-23 The line ' <i>jīveti</i> etc.' is not found.
p 121	= III, 12, 14a.
p. 212	= III, 11, 22-23 The verse ' <i>dhana- mūlāḥ kṛyāḥ</i> ' is not found
p 246	= III, 11, 25
p 276	= III, 12, 20
p. 284	= III, 11, 27
p 325	= III, 11, 56.
p. 333	= III, 11, 84-85 The verse ' <i>jaṭharam</i> etc.' is not found.
p 343	= III, 11, 102.
p 344	= III, 11, 110. The prose portion is not found.
p. 349	= III, 11, 111a.
p. 420	= III, 11, 98.
p. 478	= III, 13, 33b-38a.
p. 515	= III, 14, 30-32.
p. 538	= III, 14, 12.

V. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'MATSYA-P.' OR 'MATSYA' IN

	Matsya-p.	Matsya-p.
1. Prāyaścitta-prakarana of Bhavadeva,		pp 313-319 = Chap 274 (except verses 3a, 13b, and 28b)
p 5 = 227, 113b-120a.		pp 320-323 = Chap 275 (except the last verse) Chap. 276 (except the last stanza, inserts a stanza after stanza 7)
2 Viṣṇāneśvara's Mitāksarā,		pp 324-326 = Chap 277 (except the last verse)
on Yāj		pp 328-354 = Chaps 278 (except the last verse), 279, 280 (except the last two verses), 281-289, 83-87, 88 (except the first verse), 89-91, and 92 (except the last verse)
I, 297-8a = Chap 94		pp 354-356 = Chap 206 (except the first and the last verse).
3 Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana,		pp 382-383 = 253, 19b-33
p 101 = 17, 9		pp 392-396 = Chap 53 (except verses 1, 2, 5-10, 21, 25b-26a and 56b to the end)
p 292 = 61, 49a The other line is not found		pp 403-404 = Chap 290 (except verses 1, 13-17 and 20 to the end)
p 304 — This verse, which is not found in the Matsya, is the same as Br 220 14		pp. 409-413 = Chap. 58 (except verses 1-3).
p 321 = 274, 19b-22a		pp 414-415 = Chap 59 (except verses 1 and 19)
p 369 = 22, 83		p 441 = 16, 11b-12a. The other stanza is not traceable.
p 370 = 22, 88		p. 443 = 16, 8b-10a.
p 391 — These lines, which are not found in the Matsya, are the same as Br 220, 53b-54		p 456 = 16, 19-20.
p 400 = 17, 4a The other line is not found		pp 466-467 = 22, 88.
p. 418 = 17, 9		p. 475 (twice) = 15, 34a and 35b-36a. 16, 26-29 (except 26b).
p 520 = 17, 5b-8		p. 485 = 17, 26-27a.
4 Aparārka's com on Yāj.,		p 491 = 15, 32b-33a.
p. 16 = 265, 1b-5.		p. 507 = 18, 30.
p 139 — (These verses are the same as Viṣ III, 11, 32-35).		
p. 145 = 16, 5b-6a.		
p 201 = Chap. 205 (except verse 1).		
pp. 303 305 = Chap. 82, verses 2-25 (except verses 12 and 24).		

	Matsya-p	7 Dānasāgara of Ballālasena,	Matsya-p
p 511		fol 6a	= 274, 1
(twice)	= 17, 52b-55 and 59.	„ 15b-16a	= 22, 27b-28, 30b-36, 49-55a, 57-59, 68, 73b-75a and 71a
p 512	= 17, 60-61	„ 18a	= 206, 23b-24a
p 514	= 18, 56-57a	„ 23a	= 115, 14
p 515	= 17, 65b-66	„ 27a-31b	= Chap. 274
p 523	= 18, 8-9a	„ 39b-41a	= „ 275
p 550		„ 42b-44a	= „ 276.
(twice)	= 16, 52b-54a The other quotation is not found	„ 45b-46b	= „ 277
p 554	= 17, 36	„ 48b-50a	= „ 278
pp 557-558	— One line tallies with Mat 17, 4a, the substance of another quoted stanza is found in Mat 17, 2a	„ 52a-53a	= „ 279
p 564	= 267, 12b-13	(For 'gurunokta-mantrah' in Mat 279, 10, the Dānasāgara reads 'guda-dhenu-mantrah' and supports this reading by saying that it was found in the majority of the Ms of the Matsya-purāṇa Cf fol 52b)	
p 569	= Chap 94 The quoted passage has two verses more than Mat 94	„ 54a-55a	= Chap 280
p 572	= 98, 7b-9a and 11-12	„ 56a-57a	= „ 281
p 575	= 98, 59-63a	„ 58b-59b	= „ 282
p 800	= 227, 6	„ 61a-62a	= „ 283
p 835	= 227, 8	„ 63b-64b	= „ 284
p 856	= 227, 120b-121a and 126b-127a	„ 66a-67b	= „ 285
p 889	= 18, 5-6	„ 69a-70a	= „ 286
p 890	= 18, 7	„ 71a-72a	= „ 287
p 954	= 184, 21b-23a	„ 73a-74a	= „ 288
p 1043	= 227, 118b-120a	„ 77a-77b	= „ 289
5 An anonymous commentary on the Trikāṇḍa-mandana of Trikāṇḍa-mandana Bhāskara-misra,		„ 79a-81b	= „ 83
p 238	= 93, 111	„ 87a-87b	= „ 84
6 Hāratalā of Aniruddha-khaṭṭa,		„ 88a	= „ 85
p 98	= 18, 80	„ 88b-89a	= „ 86.
p. 162	= 18, 5-7.	„ 89a-89b	= „ 87
p. 108	= 18, 12b-14a.	„ 89b-90a	= „ 88 (except the first line)
		„ 90a-90b	= „ 89.
		„ 91a-91b	= „ 90.
		„ 92a-92b	= „ 91.
		„ 93a-93b	= „ 92 (except verses 17-33)
		„ 91a-95a	= Chap. 82 (except verses 1, 20a, 23a, 24 and 26-31).
		„ 115a-	
		115b	= Chap. 205 (except verse 1).

Matsya-p.	Matsya-p.
fol 117a- 117b = 207, 10-12. „ 191b- 193b = 53, 3-4 and 11-56 „ 203a- 203b = 200, 2-19. „ 214a- 215b = Chap 206 (except the last verse).	p 386 = 228, 21a p 388 = 228, 21-22a. p 391 = 228, 22b-23 p 398 = 228, 24-25 p 401 = 228, 26-27 pp 403-409 = 240, 8b-9a p 410 = 231, 1-3a. The line ‘aśovā vā’ is not found
8. Adbhuta- sāgara of Ballālasena,	
p 5 = 229, 5 p 6 (twice) = 229, 6-9a and 9b-10a The line ‘divyam tvara-phalam’ is not found p 9 (twice) = 228, 2-3a, 229, 12b- 13a p 20 — Cf 163, 37a p 23 = 163, 38a p 43 = 163, 35 p 50 = 163, 38b-39a. pp 87-88 = 67, 2-6 p 141 = 163, 39b p 275 = 231, 5 p 290 = 163, 37b p 296 — Cf Chap 229 p 302 = 233, 7 and 8b p 318 (twice) = 233, 6, 163, 50 p 319 (thrice) = 172, 19, 231, 4a (the second <i>pāda</i> diff- ers), 172, 18b p 320 = 238, 2; 163, 18b p 336 = 163, 42b. p 337 = 163, 42a. p. 353 = 243, 23a and 22 p 356 = 228, 11, 236, 5. p 358 = 172, 13-14a. p. 375 = 233, 1a. p 376 (twice) = 233, 1b and 2a. p. 378 (twice) = 233, 3a; 163, 43a. p. 379 = 233, 3b-4a. p 380 = Cf. 233, 4b. p. 381 = 233, 9.	p 412 = 234, 5a-5a. p 413 (twice) = 228, 12b, 234, 5b-7 p 416 = 231, 1 p 417 = 231, 2b-3 p 418 = 231, 6b and 8a p 419 = 231, 9b-11 p 425 = 230, 1-5a p 426 = 163, 45b-46 p 427 = 230, 6a p 428 (twice) = 230, 8a and 7a p. 429 (twice) = 230, 6b and 7b p 430 = 230, 5b pp 431-432 = 230, 9b-12 The line ‘tallingerā’ is not found p 441 = 232, 5b-6a and 11a p 442 (thrice) = 232, 10a, 9b and 9a. p 443 (twice) = 163, 44, 232, 6b. p 444 = 232, 7b-8 p 445 = 232, 11b-12a p 446 = 163, 49 p 447 = 232, 12b-11. p 453 = 233, 1. p. 459 (twice) = 238, 15a-b and 16. The verse ‘svayam udghātite’ is not found. p. 460 = 237, 12 and 7-8 Four lines from ‘dvāru- prākāra-gehesu’ are not found. p. 461 = 163, 51. p. 463 = 228, 11b. p. 469 = 236, 2a, 3a and 4b. p. 470 = 236, 2b and 4b.

Matsya-p	9 Kullūkabhatta's commentary,	Matsya-p.
p 471 (twice) = 236, 1 and 3b-4.	on Manu III, 265 = 17, 61. V, 60 = 18, 30.	
p 472 = 228, 14a.		
p 478 (twice) = 231, 7 and 8b-9a; 153, 175a.	10 Haradatta's commentary,	
p. 483 = 134, 12b		
p 484 = 238, 10a, 9a, 10b-11a, 6b, 8, 5b and 11b	on Gaut XIV, 12 = 18, 30.	
p 486 = 238, 15a-b and 16		
p. 490 — Cf 241, 13	11 Smṛti- candrikā of Devanabhata,	
p 492 = 241, 12.		
p 493 = 241, 14		
pp 501-502 = 242, 19b-20.	I,	
pp. 502-503 = 242, 2b-15a. p 514 (twice) = 242, 17b-18 and 15b- 16	46-7 = 7, 37b-38a, 40b, 41b 45a and 46-47. 157 = 17, 6-8 180 = 18, 30	
p 560 = 235, 1-3		
p 564 = 235, 4.		
p 583 = 237, 1-3a.	II,	
p. 584 = 237, 3b.		
p 585 = 237, 4.		
p. 587 (twice) = 237, 9a and 13-14	296 = 102, 13 322 = 101, 37. 419 = 93, 111. 486 = 102, 2-8. 487 = 102, 9c-10a. 517 = 102, 14-21 and 23b	
p 654 . — Cf. 237, 9b		
p. 663 = 237, 5b		
p. 689 = 237, 10		
p 698 = 237, 11.		
p 701 = 172, 15.	III, ii,	
pp. 701-702 = 233, 7-8.		
p. 713 = 233, 2b.		
p. 714 = 233, 9a.	481 = 227, 146a. The other line differs.	
pp. 733-736 = Chap. 228 (except verses 1, 25b-26a and 29). Two of the quoted lines, viz, 'āroyya- dhana-kāmaś ca' (Adbhs, p. 733) and 'kāryā mā- rudgani' (Adbhs, p. 734) are not found.	IV,	
	28 = 17, 4-5a. 29 = 17, 6-8. 32 = 22, 84. 33 (twice) = 16, 21; 22, 85. 34 (twice) = 22, 88 and 83. 121 = 22, 88. 156 (twice) = 16, 8b-10a. The other quoted stanza is not found.	
p. 736 = 228, 29.		
pp. 743-4 = 229, 13b-20a, 22b-24a, 20b-22a, and 24b- 25.	191 = 16, 19a. 194-195 = 16, 19b-20. 215 = 15, 39a. The first line is not found.	
p. 751 = 229, 10b-11a.		

Matsya-p		Matsya-p	
255	= 17, 30	p 247	= 277, 7b-9a
265	= 15, 37b-38a	pp 247-8	= 277, 9b-16
270-271	= 16, 27b-28a	pp 248-9	= 277, 17
271	= 16, 28b-29a	p 249	= 277, 18-22
272	= 19, 4a	p 251	= 278, 1-4 The line ' <i>go-sahasrāt</i> ' is not found.
290-291	= 17, 14b-15a.	pp 252-3	= 278, 5-11
291	= 17, 23	pp 253-5	= 278, 12-22a
298	= 19, 4-11a (except 4b and 5a)	pp 256-7	= 278, 22b-24a and 26b- 29
340	= 17, 28b	pp 265-8	= 279, 1-13
358	= 17, 40b-41.	pp 271-7	= 280, 1-15
375	= 17, 47b	pp 279-281	= 281, 1-11 (except 7b and 11a).
388	= 17, 49b	p 281	= 281, 12-13
389 (twice)	= 16, 47a, 17, 53a-55 (except one line after verse 54).	pp 282-3	= 281, 14-16.
406	= 17, 61b	pp 283-4	= 282, 1-4a and 5
409	= 17, 62	p 284	= 282, 4b and 6-10a.
412	= 16, 56-57a	pp 285-6	= 282, 10b-14
438-439	= 17, 68	p 287	= 282, 15-16
12 Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri, Vol. I,		pp 287-8	= 283, 1-4b
p 68	= 17, 6-8 The verse ' <i>smānam dānam japo</i> ' is not found.	pp 288-291	= 283, 5-19
pp 166-170	= 274, 3-30a (except 4a).	p 294	= 284, 1-3.
pp 172-3	= 274, 30b-35a.	pp 298-9	= 284, 4-18
pp 177-8	= 274, 35b-38	pp 300-301	= 284, 19-21.
pp 178-9	= 274, 39-41a	p 326	= 285, 1-5a
pp 179-181	= 274, 41b-57.	p 327	= 285, 5b-7a
pp 182-3	= 274, 58-68a	p 328	= 285, 7b.
p. 184	= 274, 68b-70	p 329	= 285, 8-10a
p. 185	= 274, 71-72a.	p. 331	= 285, 10b-13a
p. 186	= 274, 72b-73a.	pp 332-3	= 285, 13b-23.
p. 187	= 274, 73b-74 and 75-78.	pp 334-7	= 286, 1-17.
pp. 218-222	= 275, 1-25 (except 22a).	pp 337-9	= 287, 1-15.
p. 225	= 275, 26-29.	pp. 340-2	= 288, 1-17.
p 232	= 276, 1-4a.	pp 343-5	= 289, 1-17 (except 5b).
pp. 232-3	= 276, 4b-6a.	pp. 397-400	= 82, 17-19, 1-6a, 7-16a, 16b, 21b-22, 23b, 25 and 16b.
236	= 276, 6b-10.	p 401	= 82, 20a.
p. 238	= 276, 11-12.	pp. 478-9	= 205, 2-9.
p. 239	= 276, 13-16.	p. 530	= 53, 3-12a.
p. 240	= 276, 17-19.	pp. 533-9	= 53, 59b-61, 62c-71, 1-2, 11b-25a and 26b- 56.
p. 245	= 277, 1-3a.	pp 583-9	= 17, 21b (?) and 23. The line ' <i>rajatam dakṣiṇām</i> ' is not found.
p. 246	= 277, 3b-6.	p. 650	= 253, 19b-22.

Matsya-p

pp 651-2	= 253, 23-27, 28b and 30-31a Three lines from 'madhye nava-padah' and the verse 'phanāvān mukhya-bhāvātāu' are not found
p 652	= 253, 31b-33
pp 653-6	= 268, 2b-36 Twelve lines from 'prāk māmsyaudānam' (on pp 655-6) and the line 'vāstūpaśamanam kṛtvā' (on p 656) are not found
pp 695-8	= 206, 1-21a, 22b-24, and 27a
p 699	= 206, 27b-31
pp 846-7	= 290, 2-12 and 18-19 The line 'ityayam brahmano māsaḥ' (on p 847) is not found
p 1014	= 58, 1-4a.
p 1015	= 58, 5-12
p 1016	= 252, 17b
pp. 1016-7	= 58, 13-21a
p 1018	= 58, 21b-29a.
pp 1019-22	= 58, 29b-40a
pp 1023-5	= 58, 40b-56
pp 1047-9	= 59, 1-18.

Vol. II, Part i,

p 20	= 53, 64
pp. 21-22	= 53, 59b-61 and 62c-63
pp. 48-9	= 60, 2, 6-7, 8b and 9b
p. 68	= 58, 11-12, 16a and 17b.
pp. 68-9	= 58, 27 and 29b-30a
pp 88-9	= 260, 55-63 and 64b
p. 149	= 91, 1.
pp. 149-150	= 91, 2.
p. 150	= 91, 3.
p. 222	= 93, 11 and 12b-c.
pp. 287-306	= 93, 65-72. The other lines are not found.

Matsya-*c*

p 308	(twice) = 58, 11-12, 16a and 17b; 58, 27 and 29b-30a
p 331	= 115, 14.
pp 375-6	= 71, 9-12a and 13b-18a
p 376	= 71, 18b-19
p 422	= 62, 7a
pp 444-450	= 60, 1-7 and 8b-48
pp 508-510	= 72, 27-35b and 36-43a
p 871	= 94, 4.
pp 1057-60	= 99, 1-4a, 5-14b, 15b-19, 100, 37 Eight lines from 'prati-māsam tu kartavyā mūrtayah' (on p 1058), the lines 'nvartanam ksetra-patih' (on p 1058) and 'yatra sattvam tatra' (on p 1059), and six lines from 'sapta-janmāny asau' are not found
pp 1194-8	= 7, 2-12, 14b-31a and 57b-61a The lines 'evam prajāgaram kṛtvā' (on p 1196) 'tataḥ sū' (on p 1197), 'kadācālabdha-samcāram' (on p. 1197) and 'tat-prabhāvena jīvanti' (on p 1198) and the verse 'aho māhātmyam' (on p. 1198) are not found.

Vol. II, Part ii,

pp 58-61	= 95, 5-20a and 21 to the end. The line 'priyatām deva-devo 'tra' (on p. 59) is not found.
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Matsya-p	Matsya-p
pp 538-541 = 97, 1 to the end The lines 'utpadyate yadā', 'ladāra-bhya' (on p 538), 'prāktane 'hu' (on p 539) and 'layimayāya' (on p 540) are not found	235, 1 to the end 236, 1-2 and 4b to the end 238, 5 to the end (except 15c)
pp 699-703 = 54, 4b to the end	p 14 = 19, 2
pp 842-3 = 101, 31-32	p 15 = 19, 1
pp 906-9 = 96, 1-20 and 22b-21	p 16 = 19, 4-6a
pp 985-9 = 207, 1 to the end (except 40b)	p 19 = 16, 18
pp 1021-3 = 67, 1-12, 14-16, 18a and 20 to the end The verses 'rakso-ganādhipak' (on p 1022) and 'candra-grāhe nṛpa-ravi-grāhane' (on p 1023), and the lines 'kalaśam dravya-sam-yuktam' (on p 1022) and 'dravyais tair eva' (on p 1023) are not found	Vol III, Part 1 pp 23-32 = 19, 11b-12a, 10-11a and 12b-c, 20, 2-15a, 17-18, 19b-20a, 19a, 21-22 and 24b-27, 21, 2-10 and 27-28 Three lines from 'nāmadheyāni' and six lines from 'unmukho nṛtya-vitrastak' on p 30, the line 'ye ca yogāt' on p 31 and the line 'tatah prabhāte' on p 32 are not found
pp. 1072-1088 = 228, 1-5a and 8b to the end. 229, 1-20a, 22b-24a, 20b-22a, and 24b to the end 230, 1a, 2-3, 1b and 4 to the end (the line 'tallugārcana-mātreṇa' on p. 1079 is not found). 231, 1-5, 9-10a and 11. 232, 1-7 and 9b to the end. 233, 1-4a; 237, 1 to the end (the verse 'sudeva iti' on p. 1083 is not found). 238, 1-4. 233, 4b to the end. 234, 1 to the end.	pp. 33-4 = 21, 29, 32-33, 35-36a and 39b-40a The line 'samnatīś cātīyogena' is not found pp. 52-4 = 13, 3b-4a; 14, 1-2a; 15, 1-4, 12-14, 16-17, 20-22, 25a and 26-27. p. 72 = 16, 21. p. 80 = 18, 30 pp. 83-6 = 16, 31b-35. p. 106 = 17, 65b-66. p. 253 = 17, 4-5a. pp 254-5 = 17, 6-8. The verse 'snānam danam japo' is not found. p. 256 = 17, 9-10. p. 260 = 17, 1-3 and 11a. p. 324 (twice) = 22, 85 and 88.

Matsya-p		Matsya-p.	
pp 386-7	= 16, 8b-10 Five lines from 'etāms tu bhojayet' are not found	p 1226	= 17, 16b The verse 'yavo 'si' is not found
p 404	= 16, 11b-12a	p 1230	= 17, 23
p 448	= 16, 10b-11a	p 1232	= 17, 14b-15
pp 504-5	= 16, 13b-17a	p 1236	= 17, 15b-16a
pp 548-9	= 15, 36b-37a and 38b	p 1238	= 17, 17a
p. 564	= 15, 37b-38a	p 1250	= 17, 17b
pp 606-7	= 17, 36	p 1259	= 17, 25b.
pp 657-8	= 17, 23 and 21-24a The line 'rajatam daksinām ākvh' is not found	p 1284	= 17, 18-19a
		p. 1291	= 17, 24
		p 1301	= 17, 26-27
		p. 1312	= 17, 26.
		p. 1339	= 18, 27
p 685	= 15, 37b-38a	p 1343	= 15, 32b-33a
pp 744-5	= 17, 50b-52a	p 1347	= 16, 32-33.
p 765	= 17, 14b-17a	p 1370	= 17, 28b-29a.
p 892	= 102, 9c-10a	p 1396	= 16, 46.
pp 894-5	= 102, 2a, 3a, 2b-c and 8b-8	p 1399	= 17, 41b-43.
p 909	= 102, 13a-b	p 1413	= 17, 45b.
p. 944	= 102, 14-15, 16b, 17b-22 and 23c.	p 1420	= 17, 46.
p 1015	= 16, 55c-57a.	p 1446	= 16, 41
p 1044	= 17, 50	p 1450	= 18, 30
p 1063	= 16, 54b-55a. Also cf. 17, 56	p. 1472	= 17, 47b-49a
p 1070	= 17, 37.	p 1473	= 17, 47b and 49.
p 1073	= 17, 38a	p 1475	(twice) = 16, 24b-25 and 34b-36a. The line 'pinda-bhūmau prayatnena' is not found.
pp. 1074-5	= 17, 39-40a The line 'bhāratādhyayana' is not found.	p. 1480	= 17, 49b-50a. Also cf. 16, 47a.
p 1077	= 17, 38b.	p. 1482	= 16, 47a; 17, 52b-53a; and 17, 53b-55.
pp. 1095-7	= 204, 2, 4, 3, 5-11a, 13a, 12b, 12a, 11b and 14-16. Lines 20-21 on p 1095 and lines 16 and 18-20 on p. 1096 are not found.	p 1484	= 16, 48b-49a.
p 1158	= 16, 17b and 1 ^a -20.	p 1489	= 16, 47b.
p 1162	= 16, 23.	p. 1491	= 17, 59b. The other two lines 'apasa-vyena' etc. are not found.
p. 1164	= 16, 22.	p 1495	= 17, 60
p. 1169	= 102, 1.	p. 1504	= 16, 52b-53a.
p. 1175	= 15, 34a and 35b-36a.	p. 1507	= 16, 53b-54a
p. 1176	= 16, 26-27a.	p. 1513	= 17, 56.
p. 1186	= 16, 28b-29a.	p. 1518	= 17, 62
p. 1220	= 16, 29b-30a.	p. 1541	= 260, 53b-54a and 54c.
		p. 1542	= 17, 66.
		p. 1566	= 16, 5b-6a.
		pp. 1617-1620	= 207, 1-37.

Matsya-p

p 1621	=	207, 38-40
p 1717	=	204, 18.

Vol III, Part ii,

pp. 41-2	=	274, 17-18 and 6b-10
p 448	=	22, 84
pp 505-6	=	17, 1-3
p. 548	=	22, 85
p. 577	=	16, 21
p 580	=	22, 85
p 607	=	16, 54b-55a
p 624	=	17, 9

The verse 'ityeṣā
kathitā' is not
found

p 649	=	17, 4-5a
p 669	=	17, 6-8

The verse 'snā-
nam dānam' is
not found.

13 Kṛtyācāra
of Śrīdatta
Upādhyāya,

fol. 66b	=	16, 5b
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14 Kṛtya-ratnā-
kara of
Candeśvara,

fol. (?)	=	61, 43 ff.
„ (?)		
lines 1-2	=	53, 28-29
„ 139b	=	53, 23-21.
„ 161b-		
162a	=	56, 1 to the end.
„ 169a-		
170b	=	95, 1 to the end.
„ 176b	=	53, 31-32b.
„ 177a	=	Refers to Mat 82, 18 ff. in which Tila-dhenu-dāna is dealt with.
„ 178a	=	107, 7-8. The verse 'sītāsīte' is not found.
		101, 36.
„ 181a	=	101, 53a-b.

Matsya-p.

fol 181a-		
182a	=	63, 1 to the end (except verse 29).
„ 187a	=	53, 33-35
„ 193a	=	101, 79
„ 193a-b	=	53, 36-37.
„ 197b	=	17, 6-8
„ 220b f.	=	70, 32-44 and 45 ff

15 Madana-
pārñāta of
Madanapāla,

p 13	=	52, 5b-13a (except 12b), one line 'trptim karoti' is not found.
p 261	=	101, 37.
p 375	=	184, 21b-23a.
p 510	=	17, 6-8.
p 558	=	16, 11b-12a.
p 568	=	16, 27b-28a
p. 575	=	17, 23.
p 631	=	17, 65b-66.

16. Mādhavā-
cārya's com
on the Parā-
śara-smṛti,

Vol I, Part ii,

p 58	=	18, 30.
p. 182-3	=	184, 21b-23a
p 222	=	18, 30
p 310	=	17, 4-5a.
p. 311	=	17, 6-8.
pp 361 and		
365	=	16, 19a and 19b-20.
p. 371	=	17, 30.
p. 396	=	16, 27b-28a.
p 398	=	16, 28b-29a 19, 4a
p. 405	=	17, 23 and 14b-15a
p 418	=	17, 28b
p 433	=	17, 36.
p. 434	=	17, 49b 16, 47. 17, 53-55.
p. 438	=	16, 54a.
p. 440-1	=	16, 55.
p. 448	=	16, 56-57a.

17. Vratākāla- viveka of Śūlapāṇi,	Matsya-p.
fol 2b	= 93, 140b-141a
18. Sambandha- viveka of Śūlapāṇi,	
fol. 1b	= 18, 30.
19. Prāyaścitta- viveka of Śūlapāṇi,	
p 416	= 206, 23b-24a
20. Tirtha-cintā- man of Vācas- patimīśra,	
p. 8	= 106, 3, 4b-5 and 7.
p 17	= 108, 33.
pp 23-24	= 110, 1-11a The verse ' <i>tathā drstvā</i> ' is not found.
p 26	= 104, 16-17
pp 27-29	= 107, 8. The other verses are not found.
pp. 29-31	= 106, 27-28, 30b-33 and 46-48. 107, 20-21 108, 15 and 25-26a. Three verses are not found.
pp. 42-43	= 105, 13b-14a and 16- 22.
p. 45	= 105, 13b-15
p 47	= 104, 5-6a.
pp 48-49	= 106, 34-39.
p. 49	= 106, 40-42 and 44-45
pp 49-50	= 107, 4-6 (except 5c).
p. 50	= 107, 9-11 and 17-19.
p. 200	= 104, 14.
p. 205	= 106, 49a.
p 216	= 106, 49. The remain- ing three lines are not found.
p. 236-9	= 82, 2-6 and 7-25 (ex- cept 23a and 24).

	Matsya-p.
p. 267	= 105, 15. The other verses are not found.
p 340	= 183, 61-62.
p 342	= 180, 54 and 57a; (one line is not found) 184, 56-57a; (one verse is not found).
p 345	= 182, 27a-b
p 349	= 183, 71-72 and 75
p 351	= 183, 73.
21. Nityācāra- pradīpa of Narasimha Vājapeyin,	
p 18	= 53, 59b-63.
p 21	-- Reference to the chap- ters on Vāstu in the Matsya-p.
p 104	= 18, 30.
p 209	= 93, 83b-84a.
22. Dānakriyā- kaumudī of Govindā- nanda,	
p 24	
(twice)	= 18, 8b and 12b-14a.
p 56	= 205, 4b-6.
p. 70	
(thrice)	= 53, 17a-b, 20, 22a-b and 51.
p 81	= Chap 206 (except ver- ses 1, 3-4a, 9a, 10- 19, 20b-22, 23b- 28a and 30-31)
p. 84	= 206, 23b-24a
p. 86	= 18, 12b-14a.
p. 94	
(twice)	= 207, 18-19a and 38.
p. 100	= 18, 16b.
p. 125	= 58, 55-56.
p. 130	= 58, 18a-b
p. 157-8	= 58, 42b-43.
p. 161	= 17, 65b.
p. 164	= 58, 43b.

23. Śuddhikriyā-
kaumudī of
Govindānanda,

Matsya-p.

p 49	=	18, 30.
p 74	=	18, 12b
p. 139	=	18, 7a
p 163	=	18, 12b-14a
p 165	=	207, 38-41
p 169	=	207, 18-19a
p 177	=	17, 70
p. 178	=	18, 26
p 182	=	18, 16a and 22b-23a
p 183	=	18, 22b-23a
p 184	=	18, 16
p. 194	=	22, 82-84a
p 284	=	274, 6b-10
p 350	=	102, 31

24 Śrāddhakriyā-
kaumudī of
Govindānanda,

p 11	=	17, 30-36
p. 27	=	17, 63-64
p 28	=	17, 70.
p 32	=	17, 70.
p 35-6	=	16, 8-12a Six lines <i>sadāṅgavit'</i> etc are not found
p 41	=	16, 14 and 15b-16 The line ' <i>para- purvā-patīḥ</i> ' and the verse ' <i>karnā- tīś ca</i> ' are not found.
p. 59	=	17, 14b.
p. 81	=	16, 20 and 19.
p. 84	=	16, 19a and 29b-30a.
p. 98	=	16, 56-57a.
p. 103	=	184, 33a. 17, 11b-12a. 16, 27b-29a.
p. 122	=	17, 16b.
p. 126	=	17, 19b-23.

Matsya-p

p 127	=	17, 14b-15a.
p 128	=	17, 15b-16a and 17b
p 137	=	17, 26b-27a
p 142	=	15, 37b-38a
p 150	=	15, 32b-33a
p 186	=	17, 46
p 192	=	16, 39a
p 194	=	16, 38b-39
p 196	=	17, 47b and 49a
p 207	=	17, 52b-55a
p 208	=	17, 55a
p 212	=	17, 52a and 23
p 214	=	17, 59-60a
p 252	=	16, 57b-58a
p 259	=	cf 17, 63a
p 300	=	18, 22b-23a
p 306	=	22, 82-85
pp. 312-313	=	22, 2
p 319	=	18, 16a
p 326	=	16, 43
p 336	=	18, 8b-9a
p 337	=	18, 22b-23a
pp. 345-346	=	18, 22b-23a
p 357	=	18, 16
p 362	=	18, 16a.
p 389	=	17, 27 and 25
p. 398	=	18, 26
p 425	=	18, 19b-22a
pp 433-434	=	18, 16
p 435	=	18, 28-29.
p 436	=	18, 20a and 21b
p. 471	=	16, 53b-c
p. 474	=	18, 23a
p. 488	=	17, 65b-66.
p 557	=	16, 5b

25. Nityācāra-
paddhati of
Vidyākara
Vājapeyin,

p. 127	=	182, 12b.
p. 530	=	258, 13a.

VI. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'BHĀGAVATA-P.' OR 'BHĀGAVATA' IN

1. Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena,

p. 354	= I, 14, 16a
p. 355	= III, 17, 5
p. 378	= I, 14, 16b
p. 410	
(twice)	= III, 17, 7, I, 14, 18a.
p. 426	= I, 14, 20a
p. 481	= I, 14, 20b-c.
p. 625	= I, 14, 13b
p. 642	= I, 14, 19b
p. 643	= III, 17, 13a
p. 645	= I, 14, 19b.
p. 653	
(twice)	= III, 17, 11b and 10.
p. 654	= I, 14, 12b-13a.
p. 658	
(twice)	= III, 17, 9; I, 14, 12a
p. 709	= III, 17, 13.
p. 710	= I, 14, 15 and 17b
p. 712	= III, 17, 4.

2 Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,

Vol. II, Part i,

p. 7 = I, 4, 25.

Vol. III, Part ii,

pp. 659-660 = XI, 5, 20-22 and 35.

p. 664 = XI, 5, 36-37.

3. Madhvācārya's com. on the Bhagavad-gītā,

p. 64	= I, 2, 30b.
p. 152	= I, 2, 11b.
p. 410	= III, 5, 46-47.
p. 439	= VI, 4, 48a.
p. 444	= XI, 5, 48;
	IV, 21, 47;
	VII, 10, 15b-17a.
p. 470	= XI, 19, 36a.
p. 472	= III, 20, 49b.

Bhāgavata-p.

p. 497	= I, 3, 27-28a
p. 512	= X, 16, 31a.
p. 546	
(twice)	= III, 26, 10;
	II, 2, 31a (second half).
p. 550	= I, 17, 20a
p. 664	
(twice)	= VIII, 6, 10b;
	XI, 28, 17b

4. Haribhakti- vilāsa of Gopālabhatta,

p. 21	= I, 2, 23.
p. 412	= I, 6, 34.
p. 557	= I, 18, 13.
pp. 574-577	= I, 1, 2,
	I, 3, 40-42a;
	I, 3, 45; and
	I, 7, 6-7.
p. 581	= I, 2, 17.
p. 583	= I, 2, 8.
pp. 590-591	= I, 1, 19; and
	I, 18, 14.
p. 592	= I, 18, 10.
pp. 607-608	= I, 5, 22; and
	I, 6, 35.
p. 675	= I, 1, 14.
p. 703	
(twice)	= I, 5, 17; and
	I, 2, 6.
p. 707	= I, 2, 7.
p. 710	= I, 7, 10.
p. 110	= II, 1, 6.
pp. 577-578	= II, 1, 9-10.
p. 584	= II, 3, 17.
p. 586	= II, 3, 12.
p. 587	= II, 2, 37.
p. 594	= II, 3, 20.
p. 673	= II, 1, 11.
p. 690	= II, 3, 24.
p. 706	= II, 2, 33-34.
p. 708	= II, 3, 10.
p. 731	= II, 4, 18.

Bhāgavata-p		Bhāgavata-p	
p 120	= III, 9, 25 The verse 'deva prapannārta- hara' is not found	p 110	= IV, 20, 29
		p 547	= IV, 31, 22
		p 551	= IV, 9, 12
		p 552	= IV, 39, 35-37
		p 554	= IV, 29, 39-40
p 374	= III, 24, 31, and	p 557	= IV 24, 57
	III, 9, 11b	p 558	= IV, 9, 11
p 500	= III, 25, 21	p 567	= IV, 22, 11
p 506	= III, 25, 23	p 568	= IV, 22, verses 7, 10 13 and 14
p 554	= III, 25, 25		
p 556	= III, 7, 19	p 584	= IV, 23, 12
p 558	= III, 7, 20	p 595	= IV, 29, 26
p 560	= III, 31, 33-35	p 614	= IV, 21, 31, and IV, 31, 14
p 561	= III, 9, 10		
p 583	= III, 6, 36	p 705	= IV, 11, 30
p. 584	= III, 5, 13	p 500	= V, 5, 2
p 587	= III, 25, 34	p 555	= V, 12, 13
p 588	= III, 5, 46	p 597	= V, 19, 23
p 590	= III, 15, 48	p 708	= V, 6, 17
p 591	= III, 5, 7	p 709	= V, 14, 44
p 593	= III, 32, 19	p 713	= V, 19, 7
pp. 594-595	= III, 9, 7; III, 5, 14; and III, 13, 50	&c.	&c.
p 616	= III, 9, 41.	Gopālabhaṭṭa has quoted numerous verses from the other Skandhas also; and these verses are almost all found in the extant Bhāgavata. The 'Bhāgavata' verses quoted by Raghu- nandana and others also are in the majority of cases found in the present Bhāgavata, but it is needless to enlist them here.	
p 668	= III, 33, 7.		
p. 675	= III, 9, 15.		
p. 706	= III, 25, 19.		
p 708	= III, 25, 32c-33		
p. 711	= III, 15, 25.		
p. 715	= III, 29, 13.		
p. 718	= III, 25, 32.		
p. 734	= III, 2, 23.		
p. 1064	= III, 9, 25.		

VII. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE KŪRMA-P. OR 'KAURMA' IN

1. Hārata of Aniruddha- bhaṭṭa,	Kūrma-p.	Kūrma-p.	
p. 8	= II, 23, 1-2.	p. 38	= II, 23, 13 and 10b.
p. 9	= II, 23, 27.	p. 39	= II, 23, 12
p. 12	= II, 23, 3-4.	p. 44	= II, 23, 14-17.
p. 15	= II, 23, 9.	p. 50	= II, 23, 33b.
p. 18	= II, 23, 5.	p. 53	
p. 31	= II, 23, 75-76.	(twice)	= II, 23, 28-29 and 30.
p. 32-3	= II, 23, 25-26.	p. 56	= II, 23, 39-41.
		p. 57-8	= II, 23, 42-45.
		p. 63	= II, 23, 22-23a.

Kūrma-p	
p 66-7	= II, 23, 23b-24
p 72	= II, 23, 19-21
p 78	= II, 23, 31-33a
p 83	
(twice)	= II, 23, 46-48a and 59
p 84	
(twice)	= II, 23, 58 and 60.
p 86	= II, 23, 53-54
p 87	= II, 23, 51
p 89	= II, 23, 48b-50
p 90	= II, 23, 52
p 93	= II, 23, 55-57
p 98	= II, 23, 62-63
p 114	= II, 23, 66-74
p 131	= II, 23, 77
2 Dānasāgara of	
Ballālasena,	
fol 9b	= II, 26, 57
„ 21a	= II, 18, 53
„ 25a	= II, 18, 81-82
„ 137a	= II, 23, 13
„ 149b	= II, 26, 18
„ 154a	= II, 26, 17.
„ 195a	= II, 44, 123 and 125-127
„ 242b-	
243a	= II, 26, 30-31
„ 246a	= II, 26, 25-26
„ 252b-	
253a	= II, 26, 23 and 19-21
„ 285a	= II, 26, 35.
3 Smṛti-candrīkā	
of Devana-	
bhaṭṭa,	
Vol. I,	
42	= II, 15, 11a.
Vol. II,	
234	= II, 18, 3.
261	= II, 13, 4-5a and 6b-7a.
265	= II, 12, 64a ;
	II, 13, 1b-3.
273	= II, 18, 77a.
274-275	= II, 13, 31-32.
278	= II, 18, 19.

Kūrma-p.	
291	= II, 18, 18
350	= II, 18, 11.
356	= II, 18, 26-28a.
357	= II, 18, 9
363-364	= II, 18, 23b-28a and 33-34
365	= II, 18, 30
366	= II, 18, 31.
368	= II, 18, 28b.
397	= II, 18, 82
417	= II, 24, 7 and 10
432-433	= I, 3, 14-18 and 27.
448	= II, 18, 55b-56
454	= II, 25, 7-8
	II, 25, 2, 10a and 11-12
470	= II, 25, 2c-3a
471	= II, 25, 4
482	= II, 18, 58a
485	= II, 18, 62.
488-489	= II, 18, 73
495-496	= II, 18, 58-77a (except verses 59-60, 63a, 68 and 71-74)
505	= II, 18, 104
510	= II, 18, 104.
511	= One of the quoted lines occurs after Kūr II, 18, 113, the other line missing, as is evidenced by the fact that Kūr II, 18, 114 consists of three lines.
516	= II, 18, 88a-b.
519	= II, 18, 87.
534-5	= II, 18, 94-99 (except 96 and 99a).
539	= II, 18, 121.
563	= II, 18, 111.
565	= II, 18, 112.
566	
(twice)	= II, 18, 106 and 108.
568	= II, 18, 114
569	= II, 18, 118a.
571	= II, 18, 107.
603	= II, 19, 3.
621	= II, 19, 15-16.
631	= II, 19, 30-32.

Vol V,	Kūrma-p		Kūrma-p
27	= II, 20, 6-7a	p 24	= II, 20, 5b-6
177	= II, 23, 80b-82	p 185	= II, 20, 4
4 Caturvarga-		p 250	= II, 20, 4-8
cintāmanu of		p 271	= II, 20, 9-15
Hemādri,		p 272	= II, 20, 16-17
		p 293	= II, 23, 80b-82
Vol. I,		p 365	= II, 21, 32 and 34
p 6	= II, 26, 56	p 391	= II, 21, 14
p 9	= II, 26, 59	p. 403	= II, 21, 9b
p 17	= II, 26, 4-8	p 413	= II, 21, 15 and 18
p 24	= II, 26, 63 and 11	p 417	= II, 21, 17
p 38	= II, 26, 68	The verse 'tasmād agrāsane' is not found	
p 504	= Of II, 26, 14	p 447	= II, 21, 20.
pp. 532-3	= I, 1, 16a and 17-21	p 466	= II, 21, 27
p. 540	= II, 44, 133a and 125 126	p 476	= II, 21, 32-34
p 859	= II, 26, 33-35	pp 500-501	= II, 21, 35a, 36-42 and 44-46
	The line 'tasmāu asyām' is not found	p 543	= II, 20, 37
p 862	= II, 26, 29-31.	p 550	= II, 20, 18
p 868	= II, 26, 27-28	p 561	= II, 20, 46-48
Vol. II, Part i,		pp 596-7	= II, 20, 37 and 40-44
p. 13	= I, 2, 54	p 602	= II, 20, 39
p 21	= I, 1, 16a and 17-21a	p 603	= II, 22, 37
	Four lines from 'ved- ārthavittamash kāryam' are not found	pp 604-5	= II, 22, 34-56
p 322	= I, 1, 52b and 53b	p 674	= II, 22, 63
	Five lines from 'brāh- manāh ksatinyā vaiśyāh' are not found.	p 675	= II, 22, 61-62
p. 1158	= II, 26, 33-34.	p 737	
Vol II, Part ii,		(twice)	= II, 22, 40b.
p. 156	= II, 26, 29.	The other quotation is not found.	
p. 257	= II, 26, 27-28.	p 890	= II, 18, 62
Vol. III, Part i,		p 902	= II, 18, 73.
p. 9	= II, 22, 86.	p 922	= II, 18, 88a-b
p. 19	= II, 22, 3-4.	p 929	= II, 18, 114a and 88c
		p 938	= II, 18, 87
		p. 959	= II, 13, 4-5a and 6b-7a.
		pp. 963-4	= II, 13, 31.
		p 964	= II, 13, 32.
		p. 967	= II, 12, 64.
		pp. 967-8	= II, 13, 1b-3
		p 1002	= II, 22, 7
		p. 1004	= II, 22, 5.
		p. 1007	
		(twice)	= II, 22, 9 and 10.
		pp. 1007-8	= II, 22, 11.
		p. 1010	= II, 22, 6.
		pp. 1011-2	= II, 22, 8.
		p. 1015	= II, 22, 12.

Kūrma-p		Kūrma-p.	
p 1093	= II, 22, 69	p 1639	= II, 23, 85-87
p 1099	= II, 20, 29b-32	Vol III, Part II,	
pp 1135-6	= II, 22, 2-4	p 6	= I, 5, 20-21, 19b and 18-19a
p 1138	= II, 22, 1	The line 't a s m ā t kālātmakam' is not found	
p 1146	= II, 22, 23	p 387	= II, 20, 6-7a
p 1148	= II, 22, 26	p 452	= II, 20, 4-8
p 1149	= II, 22, 27	pp 516-7	= II, 20, 9-15
p 1161	= II, 22, 18	p 518	= II, 20, 16-17.
p 1163	= II, 22, 19	pp 530-1	= II, 23, 80b-82
p 1165	= II, 22, 14	p 730	= II, 15, 11a
p 1167	= II, 22, 20-21	p 783	= I, 3, 2 and 8.
p 1171	= II, 22, 13	p 809-810	= I, 3, 6b-7 and 10-11a.
p 1180	= II, 22, 22	The first ten lines (kīmcic-chreyas-karam etc) and the last line (tadava samnyaset) are not found.	
p 1182	= II, 22, 37	pp 810-1	= I, 3, 3-6
p 1191	= II, 22, 23-24	Four lines from 'prathamād āśramād vā 'pi' are not found	
p 1201	= II, 22, 25	5 Madana-pārijāta of Madanapāla,	
p 1224	= II, 22, 38	p 74	= II, 18, 25
p 1234	= II, 22, 39	p 206	= II, 18, 19
p 1241	= II, 22, 40b	p 282	= II, 18, 104.
p 1258	= II, 22, 41a.	p 284	= II, 18, 114a and 88c
p 1260	= II, 22, 41b-42a	p 286	= II, 18, 88a-b.
p 1300	= II, 22, 43b-44a	p 309	= II, 18, 112
p 1344	= II, 22, 48	p 312	= II, 18, 107.
p 1345	= Cf II, 22, 44-45	6. Mādhavā-cārya's com on the Parāśara-smṛti*	
p 1392	= II, 22, 70a	Vol. I, Part I,	
p 1395	= II, 22, 70b-71a	p 58	= II, 15, 28b-29.
p 1510	= II, 22, 79b.		
p 1515	= II, 22, 78		
p 1517	= II, 22, 79a.		
p 1523	= II, 22, 28		
p 1524	= II, 22, 29		
p 1525	= II, 22, 30a		
p 1528	= II, 22, 83b-84a and 85b.		
p 1535	= II, 22, 88.		
p 1537	= II, 22, 100a.		
p 1547	= II, 22, 96b-97a and 99a.		
p 1563	= II, 18, 111.		
p 1564	= II, 18, 112.		
p 1582	= I, 36, 1.		
Five lines from 'pūrvedyuh kṛta-saṃkalpaḥ' are not found.			
p 1589	= II, 23, 79b-80a.		
pp 1600-1601	= II, 23, 83-84.		

* These verses were traced by Mr. V. S. Islampurkar in his edition of the Parāśara-smṛti.

Kūrma-p.	
p. 70	= II, 86, 48-49.
pp. 94-95	= II, 43, 5-9a
p. 146	= II, 14, 37-40
p. 151	= II, 14, 86-88
p. 156	= II, 14, 77-78
p. 158	= II, 14, 79
p. 159	= II, 14, 84
p. 161	= II, 24, 7 and 10
p. 215	= II, 18, 121 and 119
p. 216	= II, 18, 120
p. 220	= II, 18, 3.
p. 239	= II, 13, 4-7a (except 5b and 6a)
p. 242	= II, 12, 64 and II, 13, 1b-3.
p. 253	= II, 18, 18
pp. 269-270	= II, 18, 58-60
p. 278	= II, 33, 69-70
p. 301	= II, 18, 31
p. 307	= II, 18, 82
p. 311	= II, 18, 50-51.
p. 320	= II, 18, 90
p. 336	= II, 18, 55-56
p. 338	= II, 18, 57.
p. 340	= II, 25, 2 and 10-12
p. 344	= II, 18, 104
p. 355	= II, 18, 88
p. 365	= II, 18, 90b-91
pp. 371-372	= II, 18, 94-95, and 97-101.
p. 376	= II, 18, 121.
p. 379	= II, 18, 106-107.
p. 383	= II, 18, 108.
p. 385	= II, 18, 109
p. 387	= II, 18, 111.
p. 389	= II, 18, 112
p. 392	= II, 18, 114.
p. 409	= II, 18, 117.
p. 415	= II, 19, 4.
p. 417	= II, 19, 3.
p. 419	= II, 19, 5.
p. 425	= II, 19, 20-22, (except 20b).
p. 430	= II, 19, 19.
pp. 431-432	= II, 19, 9-13.
p. 444	= II, 19, 30-32.

Vol. I, Part ii,

p. 4	= II, 25, 4.
p. 9	= II, 25, 7.

Kūrma-p.	
p. 15	= II, 25, 8
p. 46	= II, 14, 20a and 21a
p. 54	= II, 15, 1
	II, 15, 3-7a (except 3a and 5b)
p. 104	= II, 15, 11a
p. 127	= II, 14, 62
p. 132	= II, 14, 65.
p. 133	= II, 16, 23-25, 89b, 90b, 91 and 94b
pp. 144-145	= II, 27, 30b-31, 32a, 32c, 33a, 16-17 and 25-27
p. 146	= II, 27, 38-39.
p. 154	= II, 28, 2
p. 155	= II, 28, 4
p. 193	= II, 29, 7b, 8 and 10
p. 205	= II, 23, 1a
p. 209	= II, 23, 38
p. 212	= II, 23, 5a
p. 218	= II, 23, 9
p. 219-220	= II, 23, 45
p. 220	= II, 23, 42
p. 254	= II, 23, 71
p. 265	= II, 23, 23
p. 277	= II, 23, 49-50a
p. 281	= II, 23, 53
p. 282	= II, 23, 54
p. 314-5	= II, 20, 16-17.
p. 360	= II, 22, 2

Vol. II, Part i,

p. 404	= II, 33, 21
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Vol. II, Part ii,

p. 7	= II, 33, 38
p. 8	= II, 39, 49
p. 14	= II, 18, 13b.
p. 17	= II, 18, 11
pp. 161-162	= II, 33, 108, 97-100, 107 and 101-102.

7. Prāyaścitta-
viveka of
Śūlapāni,

p. 149	= II, 30, 8-9.
p. 155	= II, 30, 10-11.
p. 157	= II, 30, 8-9.
p. 434	= II, 33, 48.

	Kūrma-p		Kūrma-p
8 Tīrtha-cintā- mani of Vācaspati-mīśra,		10 Nityācāra- pradīpa of Narasimha Vājaṇeyan,	
pp 45-46	= I, 36, 5a and 6, (one line 'putradārāś ca' is not found)		
	I, 37, 9-10		
p 264	= I, 36, 30	p 19	= I, 1, 16
9 Nityācāra- paddhati of Vidyākara Vājaṇeyan,		p 117	= II, 23, 14-15a
		p 118	= II, 23, 12
		p 120	= II, 23, 12a
		p 121	= II, 23, 30
		p 126	= II, 23, 25
p 127	= II, 37, 146-147	p 189	= II, 18, 82
p 590	= I, 22, 39b and 47b	p 331-332	= II, 37, 146-147a

VIII VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'VĀMANA-P.' OR 'VĀMANA' IN

	Vāmana-p		Vāmana-p
1 Aparārka's com. on Yāj,		fol 238a	= 95, 41 and 43
pp 364-365	= 95, 23b-27 and 38-45 The verse 'ghṛtam ca kṣīra-kumbhāś ca' has been lost, and the line 'athavā catuṣpīḍah' is not found.	3 Smṛti-candrikā of Devana- bhattacha,	
		II, 327	= 14, 49b-51a Two lines 'tanūbhyaṅgo' and 'parvasv astam- yām' are not found.
2 Dānasāgara of Ballālasena,		343	= 34, 6b-9b
		446	= 14, 35b-37.
fol. 5a	= 95, 7-9.	V, 52	= 13, 31-32a.
„ 152a	= 95, 44.	4 Caturvaṅga- cintāmani of Hemādri,	
„ 181a	= 95, 44.	Vol. I,	
„ 204b	= 95, 44. The other verses 'gṛha-karma- karim' is not found.	pp. 885-6	= 95, 23b-27 and 38-45. The verse 'ghṛtam kṣīra-kumbhāś ca' is not found.
„ 235a-b	= 95, 23b-24a.	Vol. II, Part i,	
„ 236a	= 95, 24b-c and 25-26a.	pp. 849-853	= 16, 30-55 and 58 to the end.
„ 236b	= 95, 26b-27a and 27b-c.		
„ 237a	= 95, 38. The other verse 'ghṛtam ca' has undoubtedly been dropped.		
„ 237b	= 95, 39 and 40.		

Vāmana-p	Vāmana-p.
pp. 1108-5 = 17, 1 and 11-25b The line 'śṛnu rājan' is not found	Vol I, Part ii, p 153 = 14, 116-118 pp 231-232 = 14, 99b-100a
Vol. II, Part ii, p 351 = 92, 56-58	Vol II, Part ii, p 224 = 13, 36
Vol. III, Part i, p 872 = 34, 6b-9a	8. Śrāddha- viveka of Śūlapāni. fol. 15b = 95, 21b-22a
Vol. III, Part ii, p 617 = 92, 56b-58a	9 Tirtha-cintā- mani of Vācas- patiśiśra, p 273 = 79, 62b, 64-65, 67 and 69b-72 p. 279 = 83, 4b-5
pp 688-9 = 14, 48b-51a. The verse 'caturdaśyastamī darśa' is not found	10. Nityācāra- paddhati of Vidyākara Vajapeyam, p 495 — Reference to Vām 85 (on <i>gaṇendra- moksana</i>) But the Stotras appearing to be different, it seems that the chapter has been rewritten
5 Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, fol. 16a = 14, 35-38a. „ 18a = 14, 53b-54a. „ 59b = 95, 14b. „ 71a = 14, 52a	11. Varṣakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda, p. 87-8 = 14, 50b-51a and 49b- 50a. p. 166 = 95, 14b. The other line 'arka- dhustūra' is not found. p. 173 = 95, 21b-22a. p. 260 = 95, 27b-c. The line 'jyaisṭhe māsi' is not found.
6. Kṛtya-ratnā- kara of Caṇḍeśvara, fol 176b- 177a = 95, 23b-24a. „ 177a = 95, 45. „ 187a = 95, 24b-c. „ 199b = 14, 48b-51a. „ 210a = 95, 46b.	
7. Mādhavā- cārya's com. on the Parāśara- smṛti, Vol. I, part i, pp. 220-221 = 14, 23. p. 232 = 14, 49b-50a. p. 321 = 14, 35b-37.	

Vāmana-p.	
p 286	= 16, 6b-7a and 8
p 298	= 95, 39
p 517	= 95, 25-26a
12 Śuddhikṛiyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,	
p 70	= 14, 95
p 182	= 14, 95
pp 356-357	= 14, 66b-67 and 73.
13 Śrāddhakṛiyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,	
p. 261	= 95, 21b-22a.
14 Kālasāra of Gadādhara,	
p 3	= 94, 60
15 Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,	
Vol I,	
p 22	= 94, 60
p. 27	(twice) = 14, 48b-49a. The other quotation is not found.
p 58	= 94, 61.
p 111	= 16, 6b-7a and 8.
p 203	= 94, 61.
p 326	= 14, 20a and 23
p 411	(thrice) = 95, 15a ; the line ' <i>vilāsi</i> ' is not found 95, 14b. 95, 13-14a.
p. 413	= 95, 20b-21a.
p. 414	= 95, 21b-22a.
p. 538	= 94, 61.

Vāmana-p.	
Vol II,	
p 12	= 94, 60
p 66	(twice) = 95, 14b 95, 13-14a
p 69	= 95, 15
p 71	= 95, 20b-21a
p 101	= 16, 6b-7a and 8
p 144	= 14, 38a
p 276	= 14, 38a
p 436	= 16, 6b-7a and 8
p 627	= 95, 45
16 Nityācāra- pradīpa of Narasimha Vājapeyī,	
p. 56	= 14, 48b
p 321	= 14, 35a
p 630	= 95, 10 and 12-14
p 644	= 95, 20b-21a
p 665	= 95, 21b-22a
p 701	= 95, 43a and 45
17 Haribhakti- vīlāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa,	
p. 105	= 94, 61
p 108	= 94, 70.
p 111	= 94, 60.
p. 326	= 95, 10 and 12-14.
p 354	= 95, 15-16.
p. 377	= 95, 20b-21a.
p 393	= 95, 21b-22a.
p 407	= 95, 5
	The verse ' <i>atrā 'pi keci</i> ' is not found.
p. 666	= 94, 62a and 63b
p 677	= 94, 72b-73.
p 711	= 94, 54.
p. 729	= 94, 30.
	The verse ' <i>ye śaṅkha- cakrābja-karam</i> ' is not found.
p. 1288	= 95, 46-47 and 49.

IX VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'LĪNGA-P.'
OR 'LAINGA' IN

Linga-p	Linga-p
1 Tikāsarvasva of Vandyaghatiya Sarvānanda,	p 548 — Cf I, 91, 12 p 554 — Cf I, 91, 11 p 556 = I, 91, 21 p 712 = I, 100, 9-10
Part I,	
p 90 = I, 4, 21b-25a and 26b-30	3 Dānasāgara of Ballālasena,
p 91 = I, 4, 36b-37a and 41-43a	fol 15a-15b = I, 77, 33b-35 and 52b-54a
pp 91-92 = I, 4, 32b-35 The line ' <i>manavaś ca brahmasutāh</i> ' is not found.	„ 28a = II, 28, 34b
2 Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena,	4 Smṛti-candrikā of Devana- bhaṭṭa,
p 507 (twice) = I, 91, 9 and 27	II, 508 = I, 26, 16a 561 = I, 77, 65-66a
p 508 (thrice) = I, 91, 15, 29 and 16	5 Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,
p 509 (four times) = I, 91, 17b (cf), 35, 31 and 34	Vol I,
p 524 = I, 91, 24	pp. 188-9 = II, 28, 14b-31
p 525 — Cf I, 91, 5	pp 191-3 = II, 28, 32-36a and 38-46.
p. 527 = I, 91, 33	The lines ' <i>badhniyāc cakra-pāśam</i> ' and ' <i>śaḥasreṇa tu kartavyau</i> ' on p. 192 are not found
p 531 = I, 91, 23b	
p 533 = I, 91, 13b	
p. 537 (twice) = I, 91, 25b and 25	
p. 538 = I, 91, 26b	
p. 539 = I, 91, 26.	pp 194-6 = II, 28, 47-63.
p. 541 (twice) = I, 91, 13a The line ' <i>pibataś ca</i> ' and the verse ' <i>sadyah snātānuliptasya</i> ' are not found.	The metrical line ' <i>īat sarvam sarva-home</i> ' on p. 195 is not found.
p. 542 = I, 91, 32.	pp. 197-8 = II, 28, 64-78.
p. 544 = I, 91, 7.	pp. 199-201 = II, 28, 79-84 and 87 to the end.
p. 545 = I, 91, 14.	The line ' <i>dakṣiṇām ca</i> ' on p. 200 is not found.
p. 546 — Cf. I, 91, 6.	

Liṅga-p.	
pp. 202-212	= I, 65, 51b-72a, 73-81, 84-116a, 118-123a, 124-135a, 136-151a, 152-155, 157-159 and 161-175
	The line 'ud aham sampravahsyāmi' on p 202 is not found.
pp 227-8	= II, 29, 1-7
pp 230-231	= II, 29, 8 to the end
	The line 'subhagāya vidmahe' is not found
pp 249-251	= II, 33, 1 to the end
pp 257 and 258	= II, 38, 1 to the end
p. 272	= II, 35, 1-3.
p. 273	= II, 35, 4 to the end
p. 277	= II, 39, 1-2
pp. 278-9	= II, 39, 3 to the end
	Four lines from 'ghṛtena snāpayed devam' on p 278 are not found
p 301	= II, 32, 1b to the end.
pp. 369-371	= II, 30, 1 to the end
	The line 'yat kṛtvā mānavaḥ' on p 371 is not found
pp 408-410 and 411	= II, 37, 1 to the end.
pp 485-7	= II, 41, 1 to the end.
p 633	= II, 42, 1 to the end
p 677	= II, 40, 1a.
pp 687-8	= II, 40, 1b to the end.
pp. 730-1	= II, 36, 1 to the end.
	The line 'ūtādī braṇa-nāśāya' is not found.
pp 754-5	= II, 26, 6.
pp. 779-780	= II, 44, 1 to the end.
	The line 'jap tvā rudrāms tu' is not found.
pp. 794-6	= II, 43, 1 to the end.
pp. 822 and 824	= II, 34, 1 to the end.

Liṅga-p	
Vol II, Part i,	
pp 67-8	= II, 28, 79-82
p 307	= II, 28, 79-82
Vol II, Part ii,	
pp 197-212	= II, 81, 1-5, 8b-17a, 18-21, 22b-39a, 40, 41b-42a and 43 to the end
	I, 82, 1-7a, 10b-31, 34b-35a, 32b-66a, 47-48a, 66b, 49a, 67-69, 68, 70-88a, 89b, 91-101, 103b-107a, 108b-109a, 110-114 and 117 to the end.
p 397	= I, 84, 15 and 17-18a
p 398	= I, 83, 3b-4.
Vol III, Part i,	
pp 1710-5	= II, 45, 2 to the end.
6 Mādhavā-cārya's com on the Parāśara-smṛti,	
Vol. I, Part i,	
pp. 82-83	= I, 39, 69b-70, I, 40, 1
p 94	= I, 4, 49.
p 343	= I, 26, 16a.
Vol. I, Part ii,	
pp 110-111	= I, 89, 109-110, 112a and 114-118a.
Vol. II, Part ii,	
p. 14	= I, 26, 37b-38.
7. Nityācāra-paddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin,	
pp. 146-147	= I, 94, 21-26a (except 24a).

Linga-p	Linga-p
p 571 = I, 85, 39b-40a	10 Haribhakti- vilāsa of Gopālabhatta,
8. Nityācāra- pradīpa of Narasimha Vājaṣeyin,	p 27 = II, 7, 12b-14a
pp 692-693 = I, 92, 169b-172a, 173b-175 and 176b-178	p 409 = II, 2, 6b-8a
9 Haribhaktirasā- mrtaśindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmin,	p 408 = II, 4, 5a
p 58 = II, 3, 110	p 500 = II, 4, 6b-7a
	p 505 = II, 4, 8-10a and 13b- 14a
	p 511 = II, 4, 11b-13a
	p 570 = II, 4, 14b-16a

X. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'VARĀHA-P' OR 'VĀRĀHA' IN

Varāha-p.	Varāha-p.
1. Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana,	p 456 = 190, 103b-104a The line 'vastra- śaucādi' is not found
p 424 = 28, 40-41. The verse 'mahānava- myām' is not found.	p. 498 = 190, 125
p 425 = 29, 14b-15 The verse 'kūrttikasya' is not found.	pp. 525-526 = 188, 12-32 (except 14b-15, 18b-24 and 27-30a).
p 450-1 = 30, 6 The other lines are not found.	The lines 'śvab karisye' and 'pūjasyāmi' are not found.
2. Aparārka's com. on Yāj.,	3. Hāralatā of Aniruddha- bhaṭṭa,
p. 12 = 70, 41-42; 71, 52-54; and 70, 35b-36. The verse 'kuhakāś candrajālāni' is not found.	pp. 128-130 = 187, 88-109a (except 89b, 91b-92a, 93b, 98a and 104).
p. 13 = 66, 11-12a. pp. 301-302 = 112, 31-40. The line 'iravati etc.' is not found.	4. Pitr-dayitā of Aniruddha- bhaṭṭa,
p. 426 = 13, 33-35.	p. 75 = 187, 101-103.
	p. 77 = 187, 106-107.

Varāha-p

5 Dānasāgara of
Ballālasena,

- fol 117a = 205, 21-25
 „ 124a = 207, 26
 „ 129a
 „ (twice) = 207, 50a and 50b.
 „ 136b
 „ (twice) = 207, 26
 „ 205, 30.
 „ 157b-
 „ 158a = 206, 18b-22
 „ 158a-
 „ 158b = 206, 18b-22
 „ 159a = 206, 18b-22
 „ 161b = 207, 52b
 „ 160b = 207, 52b
 „ 168a = 207, 45b
 „ 173a = 207, 26
 „ 190a — Cf. 207, 51.
 „ 221a = 206, 14b-15a.
 „ 223b = 206, 14b-15a.
 „ 232b = 206, 13-14b

6. Smṛti-
candrikā of
Devanabhaṭṭa,

- IV, 189 = 190, 103b-104a.
 The line 'vastra-
śaucādi' is not
found.

7. Caturvarga-
cintāmaṇi of
Hemādri,

Vol. I,

- pp. 404-5 = 99, 82-83 and 85-88.
 The line 'ikṣudaṇḍa-
mayāh' on p. 404
and the verse 'tīla-
d h e n u ṇ t a t o
d a t v ā' on pp. 404-
5 are not found.
 pp. 431-2 — Cf. chap. 109.
 pp. 479-480 = 112, 31-40.
 The line 'vāvatī
dhenumatī is not
found.
 p. 531 = 112, 69b-72.
 pp. 972-3 = 211, 8 and 9b-12.

Varāha-p

Vol II, Part 1,

- pp 11-12 = 32, 1-9a
 p 321
 (twice) = 37, 4-5
 The verse 'kimcud
vratam' is not
found
 pp 355-6 = 56, 1-14.
 pp 377-9 = 57, 1a, 3-9 and 11b-15
 The line 'anena khaḷu
mantrena' on p
378 is not found
 pp 479-480 = 58, 1-3a, 8-13a and 15
 to the end
 pp 524-5 = 59, 1-3a, 9, 3b, 5-6a,
 7b-8, 10a and 6b
 For the five lines from
'sauvarnam rāja-
tam vāpi' cf. Var
59, 4
 The last verse 'vigh-
nām tasya na
bhavanti' is not
found.
 pp 556-7 = 60, 1 to the end.
 Two lines from 'gām
savatsām' and the
verse 'śeṣāhi-bhoga'
are not found.
 pp. 515-6 = 61, 1-10.
 pp. 734-5 = 63, 2-7 and 11b-12.
 pp. 747-8 = 62, 1-5a.
 The verse 'tasyaiva
māgha-māsasya' is not
found.
 pp. 957-8 = 64, 1 to the end.
 pp. 985-991 = 139, 21-91a.
 There are numerous
differences in read-
ings and numbers
of verses in the
corresponding pas-
sages.
 pp. 1022-6 = 39, 26-39, 40b-54b, 59-
 60, 67-74 and 76-
 77.
 The line 'caturbhis
tīla-pātraiś ca' on
p. 1024 is not
found.

Varāha-p.	Varāha-p.
pp 1026-7 = 40, 2b-9 and 10b-11.	pp. 991-2 = 190, 38-39b and 40b-43.
pp 1027-9 = 41, 1-15.	The lines 'muktā tu' and 'teṣām trātā' are not found
pp. 1029-30 = 42, 1-7 and 14 to the end.	
pp 1030-32 = 43, 1-16.	
pp 1032-4 = 44, 1-10 and 15 to the end	Vol III, Part 1,
pp 1034-5 = 45, 1 to the end	p 17 = 34, 9
pp 1036-7 = 46, 1-8	p 37 = 34, 1b-5
For the last eleven lines ('kathayā-māsa dharmajñō' etc) cf 46, 9 ff	p 45 = 34, 5-6a
	p 49 = 13, 31
	p 57 = 13, 26b
	p 58
pp 1037-8 — Cf chap 47	(twice) = 34, 6-7 and 8b
pp. 1038-9 = 48, 1-6b, 23a, 24b, (for the three lines from 'pūjyate mat-sya-rūpena' cf Var 48, 17); 48, 20-22a	pp. 58-9 = 13, 23-26
	The line 'bhūloka-vāsnām' and seven lines from 'saptadhā saptalokesu' are not found.
pp. 1039-41 = 49, 1-4, 6-8a, 10b-11a, 16b, 18b, 19b and 22-29a.	p. 59 = 13, 27-28a.
The line 'iyam vyustih purā jātā' on p. 1041 is not found.	p. 61 = 34, 12.
	p. 439 = 14, 17-19.
pp. 1041-4 = 50, 4a-b, 5-19, 22-25 and 26b to the end.	p. 738 = 188, 34a, 36b and 49a.
The verses 'yuvanāśvas ca "rājaraṣiḥ" and 'e k a i a k y ā p i v ā p a t s u' on pp. 1043 and 1044 respectively are not found.	p. 1011 = 190, 104a
	p. 1020-21 = 190, 125.
pp. 1101-3 = 55, 1-3, 4-20a and 59.	p. 1033 = 188, 34a, 36b and 49a.
Three lines from 'keśa- veti harim pūjya' on pp. 1101-2 and the line 'yathā-vibhava-sāreṇa on p. 1103 are not found.	pp. 1091-2 = 14, 27, 26 and 28-31.
	The line 'ślokān imāś ca' and the verse 'mātāmahas tat-pitā ca' are not found.
pp. 1161-2 = 65, 6b-7.	pp. 1098-9 = 14, 49-58.
p. 1172 = 31, 17b-18.	Five lines from 'e-yavaṇ pūyasuṇ vāpi' are not found.
	p. 1139 = 14, 7.
Vol. II, Part ii,	Four lines from 'kathayec ca tadai-vesām' are not found.
pp. 244-5 — Cf. 65, 11-13.	p. 1150 = 190, 103b.
	The line 'vastra-saucādi' is not found.
	p. 1167 = 190, 107-108a. Cf. also 188, 16.
	p. 1180 = 14, 8a.

Varāha-p.	Varāha-p.
<p>p. 1194 = 14, 8b p. 1198 = 14, 11. p. 1204 = 190, 120. pp. 1204-5 = 188, 64-65 p. 1229 = 14, 13a and 14a p. 1241 = 14, 14. p. 1252 = 14, 15a</p>	<p>Vol. III, Part ii, pp. 724-5 = 116, 4.</p>
<p>The line 'udanmukas tu devānām' is not found. p. 1254 = 14, 15b-16a. p. 1278 = 14, 16b. p. 1288 = 190, 96b. p. 1388 = 14, 23 p. 1389 = 14, 25. p. 1392 = 14, 32. p. 1495 = 14, 42-43a. pp. 1496-7 = 14, 37b-40 p. 1505 = 190, 121; also 190, 27a-b.</p>	<p>8. Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, fol. 15a = 210, 64a and 65a. ,, 16a = 211, 14a and 15a-b. The line 'atksanād eva' is not found</p>
<p>The line 'ksāmāyec ca' is not found p. 1510 = 190, 118b-119a. p. 1517 = 14, 44.</p>	<p>9. Madana- pārjāta of Madanapāla, p. 561 = 190, 103b-104a The line 'vastra-sau- cādi' is not found. p. 611 = 188, 12. The lines 'śvāh karisyē' and 'pūjayiṣyāmi' are not found.</p>
<p>The line 'tathānyān' is not found pp. 1526-7 = 13, 53 pp. 1535-6 = 13, 54-59 pp. 1588-9 = 188, 27-29 pp. 1607-8 = 188, 6, 12-14a, 16-18a, 25-26 and 30b-32</p>	<p>10. Mādhavā- cārya's com. on the Parāśara- smṛti, Vol. I, Part ii,</p>
<p>The lines 'śvāh karisyē' and 'pūjayiṣyāmi bhogena' on p. 1607 are not found.</p>	<p>p. 360 = 190, 103b-104a. The line 'vastra-sau- cādi' is not found.</p>
<p>pp. 1608-9 = 188, 34a, 36b, 41a, 44 and 46-50a. The line 'tilopacāraṃ' on p. 1608 is not found.</p>	<p>Vol. II, Part ii, p. 268 (twice) = 202, 71. The verses 'tṛṇagulma' etc. are not found.</p>
<p>p. 1613 = 188, 67b-68. pp. 1622-3 = 190, 38. pp. 1630-1 = 190, 39a. The verse 'narā ye cātra' and the line 'kareṇa pucchaṃ ddāya' are not found. p. 1633 = 190, 39b.</p>	<p>11. Kṛtya- ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara, fol. 167a- 169a = 39, 26-77. ,, 175a- 175b = 40, 2b to the end.</p>

Varāha-p.	Varāha-p.
„ 185b- 186a = 41, 1-15. Five lines 'agamyā- gamanam' etc are not found.	p 109 (twice) = 187, 94b-95 187, 97b-c
„ 190a- 190b = 58, 1 to the end (except verses 3b-7 and 14)	p 110 = 187, 99-103 (except 99b).
„ 192a- 192b = Chap. 42 (except verses 8-13)	p 171 = 188, 13, 10b, 12 and 14a The lines 'śvaḥ karisyē' and 'pūjaysyāmi' are not found
„ 199b (twice) = 139, 47 (=155, 34) 116, 4 ff	p 177 — Cf 188, 36b, 41a and 44
„ (?) = 211, 16-18	17. Śrāddhakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,
12. Vratakāla- viveka of Śūlapāṇi, fol 4a = 62, 3	p 75 = 188, 50b-c p 76 = 190, 103b-104a The line 'vastra-śau- cādi' is not found
13. Prāyaścitta- viveka of Śūlapāṇi, p. 367 = 116, 4.	p 79 = 190, 104a p 81 = 188, 13a p 83 = 190, 103b. p 377 = 188, 50b p 380-1 = 188, 13, 12 and 16 The lines 'śvaḥ karisyē' 'pūjaysyāmi' and 'pāda-mrahsanam' are not found.
14. Tirtha-cintā- mani of Vācas- patimīśra, pp 270-272 = 7, 13-26 and 27b-c The line 'samāgatas tīrthavarāṇa' is not found.	p 395 = 188, 64-66 The line 'namo'stu te' is not found
15. Dānakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda, p 36 = 187, 90b-91a and 92b p. 99 = 188, 13, 10b, 12 and 14a. Two lines 'śvaḥ karisyē' and 'pūjaysyāmi' are not found.	18. Nityācāra- paddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin, p. 63 = 190, 104a. p. 481 — Cf. chaps. 130-136. p. 506 = 132, 11b-12. p. 507 = 66, 11a-b. p. 509 = 66, 18. p. 590 = 70, 40.
16. Śuddhikriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda, p 107 = 187, 90-91a and 92b.	19. Haribhakti- vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa, pp. 82-90 = 99, 7-52. A few lines are not found.

Varāha-p.		Varāha-p.	
p. 130	= 131, 1.	p 396	= 119, 13a.
p 153	= 139, 17a and 19a. Many lines are not found.	p 411	= 139, 96-97a and 99c The other lines are not found.
p 154	= 139, 2, 8b-9, 11 and 13-14 A few verses are not found.	p. 414	= 139, 99 The other lines are not found
p 206	= 129, 17. The other two verses are not found	p 687	= 152, 26.
pp. 394-395	= 119, 5-10. Many verses are not found	pp 1087-1088	= 128, 45b and 48 Cf 128, 69-70.

XI. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'PADMA-P.' OR 'PĀDMA' IN

Padma-p. (Ādi-kh)		Padma-p. (Ādi-kh)	
1. Tirtha-cintā- mani of Vācas- patimīśra,		p 545	= 31, 102 and 104-105
		p 599	= 31, 99.
		p 763-9	= 31, 154, 158-159 and 165.
pp. 18-23	= 43, 49. The other verses are not found.	p 835	= 31, 163.
p. 47	= 43, 22 ff	Though the above verses quoted by Vācaspatimīśra and Gopālabhaṭṭa from the Padma-p. are traceable in Ādi-kh., chapters 31 and 43, it is highly probable that they drew upon Uttara-kh., chaps 243-246, in which all the verses of Ādi-kh., chap 31, and a few of those of Ādi-kh., chap. 43, are found.	
2 Haribhakti- vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa,			
p. 26	= 31, 114-116.	—:o:—	
p. 108	= 31, 103.		
p 136		1. Haribhakti- vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa,	Padma-p. (Pātāla-kh.)
(twice)	= 31, 55b-56. 31, 54-55a and 57-58. The line 'yāmyam hi yātana' is not found.	p. 22	= 93, 26.
p. 215	= 31, 81-85.	p. 38	= 84, 48 and 52-53.
p. 311	= 31, 96-98.	p. 118	= 92, 11.
p. 428	= 31, 149-150.	p. 139	= 89, 12-16a and 20b-23.
p. 451	= 31, 140-141 and 143.	p. 150	= 87, 29 and 32.
p. 478	= 31, 112.	p 165	= 94, 7-8a.
p. 529	= 31, 101 and 103.	p. 166	= 89, 17b-19a.

Padma-p (Pātāla-kh)	Padma-p (Pātāla-kh)
p 357 = 94, 4a and 5b.	pp 920-921 = 86, 17; (two lines 'ambarisa' and 'lat prātar mādhave' are not found)
p 359 = 94, 6-7a	89, 52, 44, 59b-60 and 61b-64
p 367 = 94, 9b-11a	p 921 = 91, 11 and 17b-18a 89, 4-12.
p 464 = 94, 4b-5a and 8b-9a.	p 922 = 91, 14-16
p 409 = 88, 8.	p 923 = 85, 42-44
p. 529 (twice) = 88, 21, The line 'bhavyāma bhūtāni' is not found.	pp 931-933 = 94, 28b-29a and 30 94, 36b-39a, 72-73, 88b- 90a and 18-20a
p 549 ff = 94, 55 and 76. 96, 4-5. The other lines are not found.	— 'o' —
p 552 = 94, 56	
p 553 = 96, 2a and 3.	
p 554 = 84, 37.	1. Kālaviveka of Padma-p Jimūtavāhana, (Srṣṭi-kh)
p 642 (twice) = 84, 40 and 72. 93, 28.	p. 51 = 27, 70-71. p. 390 = 27, 75
p. 655 (twice) = 87, 22 and 8. 92, 13 and 16.	2 Aparārka's com on Yāj,
p. 672 = 84, 45	p. 138 = 20, 164b-165a
p 676 — Cf. 88, 4.	p. 306 = 31, 138a.
p 679 = 92, 12.	p. 570 = 8, 66-67a.
p 684 = 92, 15	
p 700 = 85, 25	
p. 715 = 85, 32.	3 Hārulatā of Anruddha- bhaṭṭa,
p 769 (thrice) = 92, 24-25a 92, 26 and 34b-35. 92, 36b-41a	p. 109 = 10, 13b There is also reference to Padma-p (Srṣṭi- kh.) 10, 15-20a in which the Pārvatī- yas and the gifts of beds have been mentioned.
p 917, (thrice) = 89, 45-47, 50-51a and 54-56a. 91, 23 and 26.	
p. 918 = 85, 54-55 and 62-65. The line 'avaśākhī bhavac chākhī' is not found.	4. Dānasāgara of Ballālasena,
pp. 919-920 = 85, 67 and 70. 86, 13-16. 85, 66. 89, 48-49. 91, 21b-22 and 24-25.	fol. 18b = 10, 16b-18a. „ 154a = 15, 140b-141a. „ 239a = 31, 149.

5 Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena,	Padma-p (Srṣṭi-kh)
p. 20	= 42, 128b.
p. 23	= 42, 129b.
p. 50	= 42, 130
p. 290	= 42, 129a
p. 319	
(twice)	= 37, 134 and 133b.
p. 320	= 42, 140a.
p. 332	= 37, 131a.
p. 336	= 42, 134a.
p. 358	= 37, 128-129a.
p. 400	= 37, 164b.
p. 412	= 42, 139b.
p. 426	= 42, 137-138a
p. 443	= 42, 135b-136a
p. 446	= 42, 140b-141a
p. 461	= 42, 142b-143a
p. 701	= 37, 130.
6 Smṛti-candrīkā of Devaṇa- bhaṭṭa,	
I, 45-46	= 7, 41-46 and 48a.
7. Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,	
Vol I,	
p. 58	= 31, 183b-184a.
p. 71	
(twice)	= 47, 233b-239a; the verse 'candrasya yadi vā' is not found.
pp. 243-5	= 47, 241b-242a. The line 'ahatāmbara- samcchannūn' on p. 244 is not found.
pp. 346-356	= 21, 81-93a, 94b-96a, 93b-94a, 96b-101a, and 102-127a.
pp. 360-1	= 21, 127b-135.
pp. 361-2	= 21, 136-145a.
pp. 364-6	= 21, 145b-152a.
p. 366	= 21, 152b-159a.
p. 376	= 21, 159b and 161b- 165a.

	Padma-p (Srṣṭi-kh)
pp. 378-9	= 21, 165b-176a.
pp. 379-381	= 21, 176b-187a.
pp. 381-2	= 21, 187b-197a
pp. 382-4	= 21, 197b-213
	For the lines 'paśyed mān adhano 'pi bhaktyā' on pp 383-4 cf Srṣṭi-kh. 21, 291 and 321a.
pp. 406-7	= 31, 137b-149.
p. 962	= 31, 187b-189a.
pp. 1030-1	= 24, 212-221.
Vol II, Part I,	
p. 67	= 31, 174-179a. The line 'ahatāmbara- samcchannūn' is not found.
pp. 306-7	= 31, 174-179a. The line 'ahatāmbara- samcchannūn' is not found.
pp. 356-7	= 20, 137.
pp. 375-6	= 24, 9-16a and 17.
p. 389	= 20, 135a and 136.
pp. 422-6	= 22, 61-62, 61-68a, 68b- 83, 85-97a, 84, 98- 102 and 104
	The line 'brāhmanam brāhmanim carva' on p. 425 is not found.
pp. 461-5	= 22, 105-127 and 128b- 135. The line 'mukutaṃ vindhya-vāsiṇya' on p. 462 is not found.
pp. 471-4	= 22, 136-164. The verses 'yām upoṣya naro yāti' and 'ānandadām sakala-duḥkha- harām' and the line 'rudrāṇi-lokam āpnot' on p. 474 are found.
p. 483	= 20, 89b-91a.
pp. 483-4	= 20, 131.

	Padma-p (Srsti-kh)		Padma-p (Srsti-kh)
p 484 (twice)	= 20, 122-123a; 20, 103-104a	pp 746-7 = 21, 235b-248a p 786 = 20, 112. p 787 = 20, 113a and 114b-115a	
p 532	= 20, 113	p 788 = 20, 232	
pp 553-6	= 22, 176 to the end The lines 'ebhur man- tra-padaḥ' and 'viprāya vedā- viduse' on p 554 and the verse 'sūrasvata-vrata- varera' on p 555 are not found	p 831 = 20, 107. p 938 = 20, 72-74a p 983 = 20, 133-139a. The line 'tila-droni- parigatāḥ' is not found	
pp 638-640	= 21, 215-216a, 218-232a and 235a. The lines 'udyāpayed yathā-śaktyā' and 'kartā śvapure' on p. 639 and the lines from 'rājā bhavati rājendra' are not found.	pp 1044-9 = 25, 11b, 13, 17-19b, 20-47a, 48b, 49b- 65 and 69b-72a. Three lines from tathaiḥa viṇoh śirasi' on p 1047 are not found	
pp 640-642	= 21, 281-289 and 291 Twelve lines from 'ādhi-vyādhi-vimr- muktah' on p 641 is not found	p 1059 = 20, 40b-41. pp 1075-8 = 21, 22-40a, 44b and 40b-50 The lines 'yac cirtvā' and 'prabhāte vimala' on p. 1075, 'pūjaye jagatām nātham' on p. 1076, 'dvā-svapnam parānam ca' and 'ksaudram tūlāmi- sam' on p 1077, and 'mantrenānena rājendra' on p. 1078 and the ver- ses from 'viścha- dvādasī caisī' on p. 1078 are not found.	
pp 642-3	= 21, 268b-275a and 276- 280. The line 'sayanam vastra-samvitam' is not found.		
pp 648-650	= 21, 307-311a, 312-315a, 311b, 315b-318a, 319a and 320-321 Three lines from 'tataḥ punar ihāgatya' on pp. 649-650 are not found.	p 1161 = 20, 109b-110. p. 1202 = 20, 115b-116.	
pp 650-2	= 21, 292-306. The line 'aiśānyāmi mitra-nāmānam' on p. 651 is not found.	Vol. II, Part ii, p 25 = 20, 52b-54. p. 147 = 20, 119. pp. 175-9 = 24, 101-130. p. 239 = 20, 111. p. 242 = 20, 117. p. 254 = 20, 74b-76. p. 322 = 20, 133.	
pp. 743-4	= 21, 249b-262. The line 'kurvāṇaḥ saptamīm etāṃ' on p. 744 is not found.		

	Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-kh)
pp 350-1	= 17, 250-259. The verse ' <i>pratipadi brāhmaṇyaś ca</i> ' on p. 350 is not found.
p 394	= 20, 130
pp 542-8	= 23, 94-107, 109-138, 140b-141, 139b- 140a, 142b-143, 139a and 141b-145 A few lines on pp 544, 545, 547 and 548 are not found
pp 680-4	= 24, 64-91, 93b-94 and 96.
p 794	= 20, 82b-83b The line ' <i>saubhāgya- padam</i> ' is not found.
p 818 (four times)	= 20, 49-50a (the line ' <i>pārte ca</i> ' is not found); 20, 55-56; 20, 114-115a (the line ' <i>sita-vastra- yugenātha</i> ' is not found), and 20, 83c-84 (the line ' <i>ghṛta-kumbham tathā</i> ' is not found).
p 857	= 20, 77-78 The line ' <i>gyasthāsādhe tathā māghe</i> ' is not found.
p 860 (twice)	= 20, 57-58 (the line ' <i>śiraḥ-saugandhya- jananam</i> ' is not found); 20, 108-109a.
p. 862 (twice)	= 20, 44-45; 20, 61-62
p 863	= 20, 65. Cf. 20, 66. The line ' <i>sa sarva- pāpa-nirmuktaḥ</i> ' is not found.

	Padma-p (Srṣṭi-kh)
pp 863-4	= 20, 67-69a. The line ' <i>deva- vīmānasthak</i> ' is not found.
p 864	= 20, 69b-71. The line ' <i>brāhmaṇo bhāskarasyāpi</i> ' is not found.
p 865 (four times)	= 20, 79-80; 20, 81-82a, 20, 127, 20, 47b-48
p 866 (four times)	= 20, 106; 20, 87b-89a; cf 20, 121; 20, 46-47a.
p 883 (twice)	= 20, 118, 20, 134.
p 884 (twice)	= 20, 100b-101a; 20, 129
pp 884-5	= 20, 104b-105
pp 885 (twice)	= 20, 94b-97a; 20, 97b-98
pp 893-4	= 22, 1-3a, 39-45a and 46b-48
p. 895-6	= 22, 50-54 The line ' <i>nānābhakṣa- phalair yuktam</i> ' is not found
p 901	= 22, 55a
pp 902-3	= 22, 55 and 58-59 The line ' <i>yāvad āyus ca</i> ' is not found.
p 904	= 22, 60.
p 905	= 20, 128.
p. 906 (twice)	= 20, 101b-102. The verse ' <i>prthivī- bhājane</i> ' is not found.
pp. 910-911	= 20, 99-100a.
p. 911 (twice)	= 20, 123b-124; 20, 125-126.

Vol. III, Part i, Padma-p.
(Sṛṣṭi-kh.)

p. 14	= 10, 36.
p. 15	= 10, 35.
p. 16	
(twice)	= 10, 38; 10, 39b-40a
pp. 20-21	= 28, 89-95a, 97b-98, 100-101a, 103a, 102a, 103b, 105a, 109a-110 and 111b
pp. 23-32	= 10, 45b-46a, 44-45a and 46b-47. 10, 49-61a, 62-64a, 65, 64b, 66b-68a, 69b- 72, 89-97 and 112b-114 Lines 2-7 and 10-14 on p. 30 and line 13 on p. 31 are not found.
pp. 33-34	= 10, 115, 118-119, 121- 122a and 124b- 125a. The line 'samnatis cātuyogena' is not found
pp. 52-4	= 9, 3b-4a, 11-12a, 32-35, 42, 44-45, 48-50 and 53-55a. Four lines from 'amūr- tmantah pitaro' on p. 53 are not found [These four lines are the same as Mat 15, 12-13].
p. 72	= 9, 88b-89a.
pp. 168-9	= 9, 12 and 15b-18.
pp. 185-6	= 9, 12, 15b-17a, 19-20, 21a, 23b, 29a, 24, 28b and 29b.
p. 275	= 27, 44.
p. 548	= 9, 64b-65a and 66b- 67a.
p. 564	= 9, 65b-66a.
p. 567	= 9, 153.
p. 682	= 9, 63b-64a
p. 685	= 9, 65b-66a
p. 1015	= 9, 123b-124
p. 1070	= 9, 165b-166a.
p. 1073	= 9, 166b.
pp. 1074-5	= 9, 167b-169a.

Padma-p
(Sṛṣṭi-kh)

p. 1077	= 9, 167a
p. 1094	= 47, 301b-302
p. 1134	= 9, 139b-140a
p. 1148	= 9, 140b-141a
p. 1158	= 9, 85a and 86b-88a
p. 1162	= 9, 90b-91a.
p. 1164	
(twice)	= 9, 138b-139a; 9, 89b-90a.
p. 1175	= 9, 61-62a and 63b-64a.
p. 1176	= 9, 93b-94
p. 1186	= 9, 96
p. 1220	= 9, 97
p. 1226	= 9, 143b-144
p. 1232	= 9, 141b-142.
p. 1236	= 9, 142b-143a
p. 1238	= 9, 145a
p. 1250	= 9, 145b
p. 1259	= 9, 153b
p. 1284	= 9, 146-147a
p. 1291	= 9, 152
p. 1301	= 9, 154-155.
p. 1312	= 9, 154.
p. 1370	= 9, 156b-157a
p. 1396	= 9, 113b-114a.
pp. 1399- 1400	= 9, 170b-172.
p. 1475	
(twice)	= 9, 92-93a (the line pinda-bhūmau pra- yatnena' is not found); 9, 102-3.
p. 1480	= 9, 178b-179a
p. 1504	= 9, 120
p. 1507	= 9, 121
p. 1517	= 9, 123a
p. 1544	= 9, 197b.
p. 1550	= 9, 197a.
p. 1555	= 9, 196.
p. 1560	= 9, 199.
p. 1574	= 23, 96b-97a.
p. 1588	= 10, 5.
p. 1595	= 10, 6-7.
p. 1601	= 10, 8-12a.
p. 1613	= 10, 12b-16a.
	The line 'bhojayet prayatah' is not found.

	Padma-p (Srṣṭi-kh)	12 Smṛti-tattva of Raghu- nandana,	Padma-p (Srṣṭi-kh.)
p 1614 (twice) =	10, 16b-18a, 10, 21	Vol I,	
Vol III, Part II,		p 359 =	20, 145-157a The line 'āruhya mama gātrāni' is not found
p 312 =	9, 12 and 15b-18	pp 372-3 =	20, 159-170a
pp 452-3 =	9, 12, 15b-17a, 19-20a, 21a, 23b, 29a, 24, 28b and 29b.	p 394 =	20, 170b-176
p 614 =	17, 254-258	Vol II,	
pp 616-7 =	17, 250-253	p 338 =	10, 13b-14a — o —
p 641 =	27, 70-74 The verse 'kṛtikā- rohinyā-yāmjā- yuktā' is not found	i Tirtha-cintā- mani of Vācas- patiśāstra,	Padma-p (Uttara-kh)
p 677 =	27, 73-74	pp. 18-23 =	246, 51 ff
8 Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya,		p. 26 =	246, 43.
fol 27b-28a =	20, 145-157a The line 'āruhya mama gātrāni' is not found.	p. 27 =	246, 60b-61a.
„ 51a-b =	20, 159-170a	2. Varsakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,	
„ 57a =	20, 170b-177a.	p 491 =	25, 16b-17a (=246, 6).
„ 67b =	15, 140b-141a.		The other quoted verse is not found.
9. Kṛtya- ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara		p. 492 =	246, 19b-21a. The first one of the quoted verses is not found.
fol. (?) =	31, 77b-80.	p. 494 =	246, 43. The first two of the quoted verses are not found.
10 Mādhavā- cārya's com. on the Parā- śara-smṛti,		3. Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,	
Vol. II, Part II,		Vol. I,	
pp. 219-220 =	27, 50 and 53.	p. 148 =	242, 29. 246, 19b-21a. The other verses are not found.
11. Nityācāra- paddhati of Vidyākara Vājaṇḍīyā,			
p. 72 =	20, 146a.		
p. 210 =	20, 163-164a.		

	Padma-p. (Uttara-kh.)		Padma-p. (Uttara-kh.)
p 397	= 122, 35b-36a (=245, 67)	p 136	(twice) = 241 68b-70a
p 456	= 122, 38b (=245, 69a)		241, 66b-68a and 70b-72a
	The second of the quoted lines is not found	p 215	= 245, 6-9 and 11
p 673	= 88, 15b-18	p 311	= 245, 23-25
Vol II,		p 359	= 244, 8
p 363	= 245, 79	p 363	= 244, 11 and 13
4 Sāmkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya of Viṣṇūana Bhikṣu,		p 428	= 245, 83-84
			249, 110
pp 5-6	= 263, 66-75a	p 451	= 245, 69 and 76-77
p 23	= 263, 70b-71a and 74b	p 461	= 244, 7
5. Haribhakti-vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa,		p 463	= 244, 1-6 and 9-10
		p 529	= 245, 28a-b, 34 and 37
p 26	= 245, 40-42		The verse 'na śūdrā' is not found
p 101	= 72, 100	p 545	= 245, 28c, 29a and 30b-31
p 108	= 245, 29b-30a.	p 590	= 245, 26.
		p 671	= 72, 98-99
		p 708	= 245, 88 and 92-93
		p 823	= 38, 22.
			The verse 'stuvanti na praśamsanti' is not found.
		p 835	= 245, 97-98a
		p. 862	= 38, 2, 3a and 5-21a.
			A few lines disagree.

XII. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'BRĤANNĀRADIYA P.' OR 'BRĤANNĀRADIYA' IN

	Brĥannāradya P.		Brĥannāradya P.
1. Vratakāla-viveka of Śūlapāṇi,		p. 113	= 26, 36-37.
fol. 7a.	— Cf. 16, 4.	p 307	= 26, 26
		p. 328	= 27, 23.
		p 335	= 27, 29.
2. Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda,		3. Vārṣakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda,	
p. 78	= 26, 2.	p. 206	= 27, 21 and 23.
p. 98	= 26, 3.	p. 567-8	= 14, 39, 54-55, 58 and 64.
	The line 'tataḥ prātaḥ samutthāya' resembles Bnār 26, 22a.		

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4. Śuddhikṛiyā- kaumudī of Govmdānanda,	Bṛhannāradiya P.
p 83	= 7, 65.
p 196	= 25, 28
5 Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,	
Vol I,	
p 398	= 14, 55 and 60.
p. 453	= 14, 39-40, 54a and 55b
Vol. II,	
p. 112	= 22, 13-16.
p. 236	= 7, 65
p 312	= 24, 25.
p. 505	= 14, 55.
6. Haribhakti- vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa,	
p. 104	= 11, 99; and 28, 97
p. 106	= 38, 106.
p. 107	= 1, 67.
p. 108	= 1, 81.
p. 117	= 38, 102; and 37, 122
p. 157	= 18, 3, 46-47 and 49.
p 253	= 11, 12.
p 273	= 37, 66-67.
	The verse 'śūlagrāma- śūlās tās ca' is not found.
p. 312	= 1, 57 and 61-64.
p. 356	= 37, 68.
p. 364	= 13, 69.
p. 385	= 37, 35.
p. 409	= 13, 196-197.
p. 417	= 13, 204 and 199.
p. 430	= 35, 3.
p. 432	= 13, 190.
p. 433	= 3, 78.
p. 434	= 3, 77.
p. 456	= 35, 15-16; 35, 60 and 63.
p. 461	= 37, 65.

Bṛhannāradiya P.	
p 465-6	= 6, 50; (the verse 'samsāra-pāpa- vicchedi' is not found).
	13, 59-60, 62-63 and 66-68
p. 466	= 37, 52.
p 468	= 6, 22.
p. 469	= 13, 65
p 504	= 5, 60.
p 506	= 5, 53-54 and 40a One line is not found
p 507	= 5, 64 and 52; 5, 49.
pp 525-528	= 4, 102 and 104-106; 5, 35; 11, 3-4 and 11; 11, 55-56; 18, 117; 22, 5-6 and 61; 1, 83; 35, 9 and 12; 37, 3-4 and 8; 38, 105b and 123a; (the lines 'vāsudeva- parāḥ' and 'atyān- ta-durlabhā' and the verse 'veda- vāda-ratāḥ' are not found); 3, 57.
pp. 546-547	= 21, 72 and 74-76.
p. 549	= 34, 61.
p. 553	= 4, 13.
p 555	= 4, 33.
p 561	= 28, 116.
p. 562	= 35, 5.
p. 565	= 23, 43-44.
	The verse 'vaisnavam cāgatam' is not found.
pp. 569-570	= 34, 60 and 62; 37, 5; and 37, 60-62 and 64.
p. 581	= 37, 2.
p. 599	= 1, 65.
pp. 639-641	= 11, 7-8; 13, 174a and 173b; 18, 115 and 118; 18, 127;

Brhannāradiya P		Brhannāradiya P	
	28, 100, 104-105 and 115 ;	p 676	= 11, 100
	32, 10 ;	p 678	= (= Nār I, 34, 23).
	34, 59, and	p 682	= 38, 126
	37, 46, 59 and 63	p 686	= 2, 43
pp 654-655	= 35, 2.	p 698	= 37, 50-51
	The verse 'hari han sakrd uccaritam', which is not found in the Bnār, resembles Nār II, 7, 6.	p 707	= 4, 4 and 30 18, 116
p 660	= 32, 59.	p 728	= 38, 103.
p 662	= 38, 100 and 107	p 730	= 28, 106
p 671	= 32, 60, and 37, 7	p. 739	= 23, 36a, 45, 40a, 39b, 41 and 46.
		p 751	= 21, 2-3
		p 752	= 21, 5
		p. 775	= 21, 10

XIII. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'NĀRADIYA P.' OR 'NĀRADIYA' IN

1 Smṛti-candrikā of Devana- bhaṭṭa,	Nāradiya-p.	2. Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,	Nāradiya-p.
II, 323	= II, 31, 9b-10a The other verses are not found.	Vol. I, p. 529	= II, 24, 18 and 20-21a.
IV, 28	= II, 2, 33b.	Vol. II, Part i,	
47	= II, 2, 12	pp 993-4	= II, 21, 23b-24a. The first three lines are not found
51	= II, 2, 15.	p. 995	= II, 3, 16a ; I, 23, 8 The line 'tāni pāpāni' is not found.
53	= II, 1, 10-15a, 16-18 and 21b-22a.	p 1003	= II, 3, 8b-9.
60	= II, 23, 30b-34a and 41b. The verse 'aṣṭavarṣā- dhiko etc.' is not found.	Vol. II, Part ii,	
65	= II, 1, 26	pp. 772-5	= II, 22, 25-33, 31b-36, 37b-39, 40b-45a, 46-47, and 49-66a. The line 'gacched yasya' on p. 774 is not found.
68-9	= II, 37, 16-17a The other verses are not found.	pp. 789-790	= II, 31, 7 ff. A few lines are not found.
79 (twice)	= II, 2, 21-24. II, 2, 15a.		
121	= II, 2, 15.		
133	= II, 2, 12.		

Vol III, Part I, Nāradiya-p

p 255	= I, 25, 52b-55
p 281	= II, 2, 15
p 283	= II, 2, 8b-9a
p 286	= II, 2, 12
p 320	= II, 2, 8b-9a

Vol. III, Part II,

p 89	= II, 2, 12.
p. 104	= II, 2, 15
p 146	= II, 1, 10-15a, 16-18, 15b, 18b and 21b-22a.
p 140-150	= II, 1, 8, 9b and 22b-24.
p 153 (twice)	= I, 23, 8 (the line 'tāni pāpāni' is not found) and II, 24, 23b-24a. II, 3, 8b-9.
p 163	= II, 1, 16.
p 172	= II, 3, 8b-9.
pp 197-8	= II, 2, 18-20a
pp 201-2	= II, 2, 21-23
p 202	= II, 2, 23
p 217	= II, 2, 22
p 230	= II, 2, 25
p 233	= II, 2, 26-29a and 30a The line 'nirgatā cet' is not found
pp 249-250	= II, 2, 38-39a
p 254	= For the verse 'bahuvākya-virodhena' cf. II, 2, 29b-30a.
p 265	= II, 2, 30b-31a.
p. 281	= II, 2, 21-24.
p. 282	= II, 2, 15a.
p 526	= II, 2, 8b-9a and 15b-16a
p 542	= II, 2, 15.
p. 545	= II, 2, 12.
p. 555	= II, 2, 12.
p. 556	= II, 2, 8b.
p. 650	= II, 2, 33b-34a.
p. 711	= II, 31, 7, 9-10a and 12b.

The verse 'punimāh' and the line 'nad-valeṣu' are not found.

3. Mādhavācārya's Nāradiya-p
com on the
Parāśara-smṛti.

Vol II, Part I,

p 36	= II, 31, 48
p 59	= I, 7, 52.

Vol II, Part II,

p 228	= II, 23, 11; and II, 27, 41b-42. Two verses 'vācā cāhrośikā' and 'na sādhaṃyanti kāryāni' are not found
p 267-8	= II, 7, 12b-14 and 15b.

4 Madana-
pārijāta of
Madanapāla,

p. 507	= II, 2, 15
p. 539	= II, 2, 33b.

5 Tirtha-cintā-
manī of Vācas-
patiśāstra,

p 193	= II, 38, 34.
p. 194	= II, 38, 38
p. 202	= II, 39, 25b-26a

6 Śrāddhakriyā-
kaumudī of
Govindānanda

p 79	= I, 28, 2b.
p 83	= I, 28, 20b.
p 169	= I, 28, 63-64a.
p 172	= I, 28, 67 and 69a.

7 Smṛti-tattva of
Raghunandana,

Vol. I,

p. 87-88	= Cf. II, 2, 14.
p. 101	= II, 22, 88b-84a.
p. 108	= II, 24, 7a.
p. 109	= II, 24, 7b-8a.
p. 120	= Cf. II, 2, 14.

Nāradiya-p.		Nāradiya-p	
p 369	= I, 27, 66	p 785	= II, 2, 29b-30a
p 450	= II, 22, 57b-58a	p 786	= II, 2, 25
p. 498	= II, 38, 38 and 40	p 802	— (The first line is the same as Bnār 27, 48a).
	The verse 'gangām eva' is not found		
p. 543	= I, 30, 9b-10a.	p. 840	= II, 2, 21.
p. 822	= II, 22, 23b-24 and 38b-39.	p 891	= II, 31, 9b-10a
	II, 22, 57b-58a.	p 1034	= II, 22, 36.
	II, 22, 76b, 81, and 83-84a.	9. Kālasāra of Gadādhara,	
	The lines 'amāmsāśi', 'nitya-snāne', and 'ekāntare' and the verse 'nispāvān rāja-māsān' are not found.		
p. 880	= II, 22, 83b-84a.	p 24	= II, 22, 47
Vol. II,		p 25	= II, 22, 23b-24, 18a and 19a.
			The verses 'māmsāśmo' are not found.
p 12	= II, 22, 82b and 83-84a.	p. 26	= II, 22, 53b.
p 28	= II, 1, 15b.		The line 'kārttike varjayet' is not found.
p. 41	— cf.. II, 2, 14.	p 33	= II, 22, 47.
p. 87	= II, 24, 7a.	p. 39	= II, 31, 16a.
	II, 24, 7b-8a.		II, 31, 15.
p. 100	= II, 24, 6.		The line 'punimah sarvapāpāni' and the verse 'na vaknim sevayet' are not found.
p. 365	= I, 13, 98a	p 40	= II, 31, 24b-25.
p. 449	= II, 22, 57b-58a		The line 'savituḥ' is not found.
8. Haribhakti-vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa,		p 45	— cf. II, 2, 14.
		p. 127	= I, 23, 8.
p. 360	= II, 38, 26.		II, 1, 15b.
p. 386	= II, 22, 34-35.		Three lines 'tāni pāpāni' etc. are not found.
p. 423	= II, 6, 3.	p. 128	= II, 2, 38-39a.
p. 519	= II, 10, 37b-38a.	p. 382	= II, 2, 15; II, 2, 12.
p. 634	= II, 3, 3 and 4b-5a.		The line 'paitram mūlam' is not found.
p. 676	= II, 6, 5-6.	p. 439	= II, 2, 12.
p. 752	= II, 24, 23b-24a.		
p. 761	— cf. II, 3, 8b-9.		
p. 779	= II, 2, 38-39a.		

XIV. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'AGNI-P'
OR 'ĀGNEYA' IN

	Agni-p.	Agni-p
1 Dānasāgara of Ballālasena,		
fol 96a-97b =	210, 13b-17a, 19-21 22b, 23 and 25-29a. Many of the quoted verses are not found	p 12 — cf 209, 49b-50 p 13 = 209, 57a, 60a, 58a, 59a, 61a, 62b and 63a. p 14 = 209, 22 and 37b-38. p 16 = 209, 60a. p 19 = 209, 57a. p 20 (twice) = 209, 57a. The other quoted line is not found.
2 Smṛti-candrikā of Devana- bhatta,		
IV, 59 =	187, 2a The other line ' <i>grhas- tho brahmacārī</i> ' is not found.	p 58-61 = 210, 10b-31a. p 76 = 209, 22 p. 124 = 209, 56.
3. Mādhavā- cārya's com. on the Parāśara- smṛti,		7. Śuddhikriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,
Vol. I, Part i,		p. 160 = 211, 30a. p. 181 — cf 163, 28. p. 185 — cf. 163, 28.
, p. 263 =	155, 3b-4a	8 Śrāddhakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,
√ 4. Śrāddha- viveka of Śūlapāni,		p. 116 = 117, 54-56a p 187 = 117, 22b-23. p 210 = 117, 27b. p. 301 = 209, 13. p 303 = 209, 14-15. p. 360 — cf. 163, 28
fol. 92b —	cf. 163, 28	
5. Varsakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,		9. Kālasāra of Gadādhara,
p. 323 =	192, 6b-7 Three lines ' <i>gandha- puspādibhiḥ</i> ' etc. are not found.	pp 235-236 = 209, 2. p 305 = 158, 43. p. 322 = 158, 43. pp. 357-358 = 157, 36b-38. p. 406 = 211, 42-43a.
6. Dānakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,		10. Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,
p. 3 =	209, 56.	Vol. II,
p. 5 =	209, 35.	p. 36 = 187, 2a.
p. 11 =	211, 30.	

	Agni-p.		12 Nityācāra- pradīpa of Narasimha Vājapeyin,	Agni-p.
	The other line 'grhas- tho brahmacārī' is not found.			
p 142	= 209, 57a.		p 127	= 158, 43
11 Haribhakti- vilāsa of Gopālabhatta,			13 Haribhakti- rasāmṛta-sindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmin,	
p 354	— cf 248, 3-4 The readings and ar- rangement of lines differ.		p 122	= 339, 34b-35a

XV. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'GARUDA-P.'
OR 'GĀRUDA' IN

1. Tīrtha-cintā- mani of Vācas- patimśra,	Garuda-p.		Garuda-p.
pp. 268-270	= I, 82, 1 to the end (except 6b).		p. 184 = I, 222, 40.
p. 319	= I, 84, 20.		p. 191 = I, 222, 39 (last por- tion) to 41 (first portion).
2. Śrāddhakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,			p. 192 = I, 222, 40.
p. 53	= I, 222, 1b-2.		p. 193 = I, 222, 41 (latter half) to 42 (former half).
p. 54	= I, 222, 2b.		p. 199 = I, 222, 42 (last por- tion) to 43.
p. 83	= I, 222, 1b.		p. 204 = I, 222, 45-46 (former half).
p. 119	= I, 222, 9 (partly)-10.		p. 206 = I, 222, 47.
p. 123	= I, 222, 9-10.		p. 210 = I, 222, 51 (former half).
p. 124	= I, 222, 9 (last por- tion).		p. 319 = I, 224, 1a and 2.
p. 129	= I, 222, 11.		p. 346 = I, 224, 1a and 2.
p. 138	= I, 222, 21 (last part).		p. 369 = I, 222, 19.
p. 141	= I, 222, 16 (latter half).		p. 560 = I, 222, 57-58a.
p. 143	= I, 222, 23 (former half).		3. Śuddhakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,
p. 155	= I, 222, 23 (latter half).		p. 196 = I, 84, 5a.
p. 157	= I, 222, 30 (first part).		4. Varṣakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,
p. 162	= I, 222, 25.		pp. 42-43 = I, 125, 1 to the end.
p. 173	= I, 222, 33.		p. 62 = I, 128, 5.
p. 178	= I, 222, 35-37.		
p. 180	= I, 222, 38.		

Garuda-p		Garuda-p.	
pp 68-9	= I, 128, 18-19 The last verse is not found	p 347	= I, 217, 78-79. These verses greatly resemble Gd I, 98, 14 and 16 also
p 175	= I, 31, 23	p 349	= I, 217, 83
p 295	= I, 129, 23b-24a	p 351	= I, 110, 1
pp 313-314	= I, 131, 11-20 The line 'prapadye 'ham' is not found	p 429	= I, 68, 8-10
p 319	= I, 131, 1-2 (except 2b)	p. 430	= I, 217, 153
p. 321	= I, 140, 4-5 (except 4c)	p 439	= I, 172, 18-19a, 20a and 21b.
p 322	= I, 140, 6 to the end	p 440	(twice) = I, 173, 62, 56b, 63 and 5, (the lines 'grāhī śītaḥ' and 'vātanut pītalo' are not found).
pp 456-457	= I, 123, 1-2		
p 494	= I, 217, 127.		I, 173, 8a; (the other 8 lines are not found)
pp 504-5	= I, 127, verses 1-2, 3b, 9, 8b, 10b-17a and 18-20a	p. 752	= I, 217, 127.
p 508	= I, 124, 11b-18 and 21 The line 'bīvapatrāyutam' and the verse 'visarjayet paredyūś ca' are not found.	Vol II,	
5. Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,		p. 437 = I, 129, 25-26.	
Vol. I,		6 Kālasāra of Gadādhara,	
p. 33	= I, 129, 25-26.	p 89	= I, 183, 1.
p. 42	= I, 131, 8a.	p 146	= I, 127, 1-8a.
p 44-5	= I, 131, 11-15 and 17-20. The verse 'tam evopavaset kālāṃ', three lines beginning with 'prapadye 'haṃ sadā etc.', and two lines 'sarvalokeśvara' and 'trāhi maṃ sarva-duḥkhaḥ' are not found. Three lines 'sūryaḥ somo yamah' etc. also are not found.	p. 329	= I, 52, 23. The line 'etaḍ eva param' is not found.
p. 58-9	= I, 133, 1-2.	7. Haribhakti-vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa,	
p. 127	(twice) = I, 124, 13. I, 124, 16b-19a.	p. 23	= I, 232, 8.
p. 206	= I, 221, 2.	p. 103	= I, 221, 2. The other verse 'yady apy upa h a t a h pāpaiḥ' is not found.
p. 346	= I, 110, 24.	p. 110	= I, 231, 2.
		p. 113	= I, 239, 58.
		p. 279	= cf. I, 66, 4b.
		p. 505	= I, 231, 8.
		p. 512	= I, 231, 14b-c.

	Garuḍa-p.		Garuḍa-p.
p. 880	= I, 231, 13-14a.	p. 689	= I, 232, 18.
	The line ' <i>vasnavānām sahasrebhyaḥ</i> ' is not found	8. Haribhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmin,	
p. 653	= I, 235, 8		
	The first three verses are not found.	p. 63	= I, 232, 18

XVI. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'BRAHMA-P.' OR 'BRĀHMA' IN

	Brahma-p.		Brahma-p.
1. Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,			
Vol I,	— Numerous verses have been quoted in connection with donations, but not a single is found in the extant Brahma-p	p. 171	= 220, 10b-11a
		p. 189	= 220, 51b-52a
		p. 197	= 220, 45b-48a
		p. 213	= 220, 20b-21a
		p. 230	= 220, 53b-54a
		pp. 253-4	= 220, 55-56
		p. 259	= 220, 57-58.
		p. 260	= 220, 10b-11, 13a and 14
Vol II, Part i,		pp. 264-5	= 220, 14-19 and 20b-21.
		p. 277	= 220, 44b-45a
		p. 279	= 220, 59
p. 226	= 60, 32b-33, 35b and 36-43	p. 292	= 220, 62b and 64a.
pp. 788-9	= 29, 27b-29a	p. 295	= 220, 64b-66
		p. 335	= 220, 53b-54a and 55-57.
&c	&c.	p. 421	= 220, 109b-110a
		p. 458	= 220, 127a
Vol. III, Part i,		pp. 459-460	= 220, 138.
		p. 500	= 220, 127b-135.
p. 8	= 220, 99b-c.	p. 542	= 220, 154-155a.
p. 10	= 221, 1; 220, 210.	p. 549	= 220, 168.
p. 11	= 220, 204.	p. 551	= 220, 156-158.
pp. 12-13	= 220, 87b-99a.		The line ' <i>cīnākam</i> ' is not found.
	The line ' <i>piśācatvam anuprāptāḥ</i> ' is not found.	p. 552	= 220, 161.
		p. 557	= 220, 159b-160a.
			The line ' <i>pavitro parama</i> ' is not found.
p. 45	= 220, 67.		
p. 65	= 220, 77-78a.	p. 562	= 220, 170, 175b-176, 172b-175a, and 178-180a.
p. 71	= 220, 77a.		
	The other two lines are not found.	p. 601	= 220, 159.
p. 138	= 220, 60a.		

	Brahma-p
p 602 (twice)	= 220, 181b-183a, 220, 184b-185a.
pp 679-680	= 220, 165b-166 The verse 'śveta- candana' is not found
p 680	= 220, 171b-172a.
p 683	= 220, 161b-165a
p 687 (twice)	= 220, 167
p 736	= 220, 146 The other verse is not found
p 744	= 221, 161.
p 1014	= 220, 106a.
pp 1134-5	= 220, 105 and 107b- 110a.
&c.	&c
2 Mādhavā- cārya's com. on the Parāśara- smṛti, Vol. II, Part ii,	
p. 209	= 215, 136b-137a and 138b-139a.
p. 210-211	= 214, 29-31. Four lines are not found.
p. 224-6	= 217, 48-50, 75b-76a, 57, 59b, 80b-81a and 88a.
p. 266	= 217, 68-71a, 66-67, 77b- 80a and 45-47.
3. Dola-yātrā- viveka of Śūlapāṇi, fol. 3b (line 4)	= 63, 18.
4. Rāsaya-trā- viveka of Śūlapāṇi, fol. 4a	= 67, 10-11.

	5 Śrāddha-viveka of Śūlapāṇi,	Brahma-p.
fol. 24b	= 220, 46b-47a	
„ 25a	= 220, 45b-47a	
„ 28b (twice)	= 220, 51b-52a The other quoted pas- sage is not found.	
6 Tirtha- cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati-miśra,		
pp 53-86	= 27, 2a 23, 1-2. Four verses from 'santi tīrthāṇi etc.' on p 53 of the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi are not found. 69, 14 to the end (except verses 26 and 39-40). 70, 3-4a. 42, 34b to the end (except 35b-36a). 43, 1-13. 45, 1-5a, 16b and 17b-c. 45, 18-24, 53a, 54-79, 84b to the end, and 82a. 48, 1-6, and 10 to the end. 49, 1-40a, 41b-51, 54- 56, and 57b to the end. 50, 1-48, (one verse 'kuṇḍalābhyaṁ vicitrābhyaṁ' is not found), 49-50a and 51 to the end. 51, 1-33a and 37 to the end. p 87 = 57, 1-7. pp. 88-92 = 57, 8-30a, 32b-42, 44- 47 and 50-56. pp. 92-103 = 57, 57 to the end, 58, 1-7.	

Brahma-p	Brahma-p
Four verses ' <i>tasmāt tam munisārdūla</i> ' etc. on p 94 of the Tirtha-cintāmani are not found.	pp 143-154 = 65, 1-13, 15b-41a, 43-59, 65, 71-72, and 74 to the end
58, 12-27, 28b-29, 30b-58 and 62b to the end.	pp 156-159 = 51, 29-32, 37, and 42-45
59, 1.	66, 1-2, 10-13a and 14 to the end
Two verses ' <i>sarvalaksana-samyuktam</i> ' etc on p 101 of the Tirtha-cintāmani are not found.	p 160 = 67, 3-5. pp 161-169 = 67, 2, 6-12, 13b-22a and 23-80
59, 3-4, 6a, 27b, 28b-30a and 84b to the end.	One verse ' <i>durlabham pāvanam</i> ' on p 167 of the Tirtha-cintāmani is not found
60, 1-11.	68, 23-31, 32b, 35, 69b-70, 72-75 and 76a.
p. 104 = 57, 3-4.	p 175 = 177, 19, 24 and 16-17. One verse ' <i>ksetrāṇam ca</i> ' is not found.
p 105 = 57, 8 and 13-14	pp 176-180 = 41, 10b-11, 53b, 56-78a (<ix lines from ' <i>bhuktvā tatra varān</i> ' on p 178 of the Tirtha-cintāmani are not found), 78b-88, 91b-92, 89-90 and 93.
p 106 = 57, 22-23.	pp 180-182 = 28, 44-56a, 62b to the end, and 56b-62a
pp. 107-108 = 57, 33-37 and 39-40	pp 183-184 = 42, 1-7 and 9-10.
p 109 = 57, 58	p. 184 = 42, 11.
p 111 = 60, 9-10	7. Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda,
pp 112-128 = 60, 12 to the end.	p. 15 = 220, 23-30 (except 30a)
Two verses ' <i>nārāyaṇa-paro dharmo</i> ' etc. on p. 113 and one line ' <i>angusṭhe haste</i> ' on p. 114 of the Tirtha-cintāmani are not found.	p. 16 = 220, 183b-184a The line ' <i>āma-māṃsaṃ</i> ' is not found
61, 1 to the end.	p. 17 = 220, 156-157a, 158b and 182b-183a.
62, 1-15 and 18 to the end (except 22a).	p. 18 (twice) = 220, 170 and 197b-198a.
Three lines ' <i>nāstikāyana vaktavyam</i> ' etc. are not found.	
63, 1-7.	
p. 130 = 60, 40-42a and 44-45.	
p. 132 = 61, 14-16, 23a-b and 24.	
p. 133 = 61, 25 and 27-30.	
p. 134 = 61, 31-34.	
p. 135 = 61, 35-38.	
p. 138 = 63, 3 and 8-9.	
pp. 139-143 = 63, 11 to the end.	
64, 1 to the end.	

Brahma-p		Brahma-p	
p. 19	= 220, 180b-181a and 161. The line 'vetrāṅkuraṇ' is not found	p 404	= 29, 55-56 One verse is not found.
		&c.	&c
p 20	= 220, 159-160a	Vol II,	
p. 23	= cf. 220, 162.		
p 28	= 220, 4.	p 563	= 27, 2a and 11b, 28, 1-2a
p 42	= 220, 127-129	p 564	= 42, 1-2, 4, 5 and 9-10, 46, 4; 70, 3-4a
p 43	= 221, 96a and 97a	pp 565-7	= 57, 2-42 (except 11b and 31)
p 64	= 219, 75b	p 567	= 57, 57
p 74	= 220, 118b-119a	pp. 569-570	= 60, 47, 61, 1-3 and 57, 62, 1-2
p 84-5	= 219, 46b-47a and 48.	pp 570-571	= 62, 3b-5a, 6b and 12b-13a, 62, 23, 63, 1-5, 13-14 and 8-9.
p 84	= cf 219, 54b and 62b	p. 571	= 60, 11
p 122	= 219, 48 and 51	pp. 571-2	= 63, 17-21
p 141	= 220, 160b	p 572	= 65, 3 and 57; 65, 83a; 66, 1-2, 70, 5-6a; 64, 18
p 142	= 220, 162-164	The verse 'vārsikāms caturo māśān' is not found.	
p. 144	= 220, 167.	pp. 572-3	= 41, 10b-11, 53b, 56- 57a, 59b-61a, 63b- 64a, 67, 89b-90, 28, 64b-c, 43-44 and 48b.
p. 145	= 220, 139-140 The line 'ananga- lagnam yad vas- tram' is not found.	The verse 'pathi śmaśāne' and the line 'tathā caivot- kale deśe' on p. 572 are not found.	
p. 148	= 219, 61b.	Four lines from 'deham tyajanti' on p. 572 resemble Br 68, 75-77.	
p. 172	= 219, 69-70a.		
p. 187	= 219, 72b-73a		
p. 189	= 219, 75b.		
p 203	= 219, 78.		
p. 206	= 219, 79.		
p. 210	= 219, 81b-82a.		
p. 212	= 219, 83.		
p 258	= 220, 51b-52a		
p. 263	= 220, 51b-53a		
p. 285	= 220, 45b-48a		
p. 300	= 220, 53b-54a and 55-56.		
8. Dānakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,			
p. 43	= 218, 26b-27a.		
p. 49	= 216, 18.		
p. 50	= 216, 12-13.		
p. 52	= 216, 30.		
9. Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,			
Vol. I,			
p. 216	= 220, 139.	&c.	&c.

XVII. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'SKANDA-P.' OR
'SKĀNDA' IN

<p>1 Kālaviveka of Skanda-p. Jimūtavāhana,</p> <p>p 440 = VII, i, 208, 39</p> <p>p 448 = VII, i, 208, 38.</p>	<p>4a Mādhavā- Skanda-p. cārya's com on the Parāśara- smṛti,</p> <p>Vol I, Part i,</p>
<p>2. Aparārka's com on Yāj,</p> <p>p 205 = VII, i, 208, 39</p>	<p>p 185 = VII, i, 207, 70, 73 and 74b</p> <p>p 188 = VII, i, 207, 48</p>
<p>3 Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,</p> <p>Vols I-III. — Hundreds of verses have been quoted by Hemādri from the 'Skanda-p.' or 'Skānda', and a good number of these quoted ver- ses is found in the printed Skanda-p. For instance, Catur- varga-cintāmaṇi,</p>	<p>5. Madana- pārijāta of Madanapāla,</p> <p>pp 193-5 = IV, i, 4, 21-28, 36, 39 and 41-42.</p>
<p>Vol III, Part i,</p> <p>p 244 = Sk VI, 220, 43</p> <p>p 162 = Sk VII, i, 206, 29-30a</p> <p>p 316 = Sk VII, i, 206, 94.</p> <p>&c. &c.</p>	<p>6. Vratakāla- viveka of Śūlapāni,</p> <p>fol 8a — Cf. IV, ii, 84, 51a.</p> <p>7. Dīpakalikā of Śūlapāni,</p> <p>fol. 124a — the first two lines tally with V, iii, 209, 85, VI, 21, 71, VI, 37, 44 and so on, the remaining lines being not found.</p>
<p>4. Kālanirnaya of Mādhavācārya,</p> <p>p. 98 = VII, i, 19, 2-3.</p> <p>p. 283 = VI, 226, 9-10a and 25-26a.</p> <p>The line 'śivarātris tu sā' is not found.</p>	<p>8. Dolayātrā- viveka of Śūlapāni,</p> <p>fol. 1b ff. = II, ii, 42 (except lines 7a, 33b and 43b).</p> <p>fol. 3b-4a = II, ii, 42, 5.</p>
<p>9. Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,</p> <p>Vol. I,</p> <p>p. 29 (twice) = II, ii, 29, 33b-34 and 33a.</p> <p>p. 31 = II, ii, 29, 50.</p> <p>&c. &c.</p>	<p>9. Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,</p> <p>Vol. I,</p> <p>p. 29 (twice) = II, ii, 29, 33b-34 and 33a.</p> <p>p. 31 = II, ii, 29, 50.</p> <p>&c. &c.</p>

(A). VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'PURUṢOTTAMA-
MĀHĀTMYA' IN

1 Dolayātrā- viveka of Śūlapāni,	Skanda-p
fol. 3b (thrice) = II, ii, 29, 47	The other lines are not found

(B). VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'KĀŚI-KH.'
IN

1 Tirtha- cintāmaṇi of Vācaspatimiśra,	Skanda-p	Skanda-p
pp 370-372 = IV, ii, 59, 104b-105, 115-117, 119-124, 126-128, 137-139 and 140-143	The lines 'kṛte dharma- nadam' and 'dvā- pare bindu-tir- tham ca' on p 372 are not found	p 567 (twice) = IV, i, 40, 108 and 118. The two lines 'jāta-mātram' and 'bhakṣyābha- ksye' are not found.
2 Srāddhakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,		p 576 = IV, i, 4, 74-75, 77-81a and 82-83
p 225 = IV, i, 38, 60		pp 577-8 = IV, i, 4, 18, 22-23a and 33.
p. 397 = IV, i, 35, 216b-217a		IV, i, 4, 34-35
p. 558 = IV, i, 35, 216b-217a		IV, i, 4, 36.
		IV, i, 4, 60-61
		The first four lines 'pāmpīditāh tāsām tustyā tu' etc. are not found.
3. Varsakriyā- kaumudī of Govindānanda,		4. Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,
		Vol. I,
pp. 280-1 = IV, i, 27, 152-154.		pp 370-1 = IV, i, 4, 80.
The last two lines 'e t ā n i daśa pāpāni' etc. are not found.		p. 422 = IV, i, 35, 199b-200 and 201b-203a.
		p. 427 = IV, i, 35, 216b-217a.
		p. 434 = IV, i, 35, 223-224a and 225a.

	Skanda-p.	5. Vidhāna- pārijāta of Anantabhaṭṭa, Vol. I,	Skanda-p.
p 745	= IV, 1, 35, 157.		
Vol II,		pp 677-683	= IV, i, 37, verses 1, 3, 10-12, 14, 17-20, 22, 28, 30-32, 35, 37, 44-53, 55-57a, 58-59, 63-64, 66, &c.
p 13	= IV 1, 4, 33.		

(C). VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'REVĀ-KH.'

IN

	Skanda-p.	Skanda-p
1 Mādhavā- cārya's com on the Parāśara- smṛti,		
Vol II, Part II,		
pp 231-2	The last four lines (<i>'gadgado' nṛta- vādi'</i> etc) are the same as Sk V, III, 159, 12a, 16b, 17a and 18b. The rest are not found.	p. 253 — Cf V, III, 159, 12b. p 264 (twice) — Of the 8 lines quoted, the last four tally with Sk V, III, 159, 12a, 17b, 21a and 24a. The rest are not found.

(D). VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'NĀGARA-KH.'

IN

	Skanda-p.	Skanda-p.
1. Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,		
Vol. II, Part i,		
pp. 485-497	= VI, 177, 14b to the end; 178, 1-74. A few lines are not found.	pp. 13-14 = VI, 218, 3b-5a, 6b-10a and 11b. p. 16 = VI, 215, 40a and 41. p. 22-23 = VI, 215, 38-39, 41, 43-50b and 55. p. 24 (twice) = VI, 215, 61 and 37.
pp. 805-810	= VI, 162, 23-27 and 29-73.	pp. 45-46 = VI, 216, 9b-12a. p. 48 = VI, 216, 14-16. p. 66 = VI, 216, 67-68a. p. 78 = VI, 216, 67-69a. p. 152 = VI, 218, 3. p. 169 = VI, 216, 7b-9a. p. 172 = VI, 215, 32-37. pp. 172-3 = VI, 215, 38-39. p. 197 = VI, 216, 96b-97. p. 199 = VI, 216, 99b-101. pp. 200-201 = VI, 216, 124-130a.
Vol. II, Part ii,		
pp. 114-122	= VI, 206, 8 to the end	
Vol. III, Part i,		
p. 9	= VI, 215, 57b-60.	

Skanda-p.

pp 204-7 = VI, 219, 14-15a; 220, 1, 7-8, 10a, 29, 32, 35a, 36b-37a, 39b-42, 48a, 47b, 51, 54b, 55b, 68-69 and 73-75, and 221, 2a, 3a 5a and 6a.

A few lines are not found.

p. 214 = VI, 222, 1-3 (= 219, 19b-22).

pp 219-221 = VI, 222, 4-5, 7-14a 16-28a and 30

p. 220 = VI, 217, 63b-65a

p. 230 = VI, 217, 65b-66a

p. 252 = VI, 217, 60-63a.

pp 255-6 = VI, 217, 52-59.

p. 390 = VI, 217, 22 and 24-25.

p 420 = VI, 217, 7b-8a

pp 503-4 = VI, 217, 11-15 and 17-20

p 523 = VI, 217, 46.

pp 533-540 = VI, 221, 32, 33b-36a 37, 44, 38, 41-43 46, 49, 51-52 and 54-58.

Three lines from 'tena te medhyatām' on p 539 are not found.

pp 599-600 = VI, 221, 23a, 24-26a and 27-30.

&c. &c.

Vol. III, Part ii,

pp. 48-49 = VI, 216, 96b-97.

The verse 'nabho vātha' is not found.

p. 304 = VI, 266, 30-32.

The verse 'māgha-phālgunayor madhye' is not found.

p. 306

(twice) = VI, 266, 9-10a; and 266, 25-26a.

Skanda-p.

pp. 309-310 = VI, 266, 57-58a.

p. 312 = VI, 216, 7b-8 (also cf. verse 83).

pp 410-411 = VI, 217, 65b-66a.

p 411 = VI, 217, 66b-67.

pp 463-4 = VI, 216, 96b-97

pp. 465-6 = VI, 216, 99b-102a.

p. 467 = VI, 216, 124-130a.

pp 473-5 = VI, 219, 14-15a; 220, 1, 7-8, 10a, 29,

32, 35a, 36b-37a, 39b-42, 48a, 47b, 51, 54b, 55b, 68-69 and 73-75; and 221, 2a, 3a, 5a and 6a

A few lines are not found.

p 493 = VI, 222, 1-3 (= 219, 19b-22).

pp. 497-500 = VI, 222, 4-5, 7-28a and 30

p 501 = VI, 217, 63b-65a

p 649 = VI, 217, 60-63a.

2. Kālanirnaya of Mādhavācārya,

p. 290 = VI, 266, 57.

The line 'aksayān labhate' is not found.

p 298 = VI, 266, 30-32.

p 310 = VI, 216, 7b-8.

The first and the third line tally with Sk VI, 216, 83 also.

p 346 = VI, 217, 66b-67.

3. Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,

Vol. I,

p. 125 = VI, 266, 57.

The line 'aksayān labhate' is not found.

p. 256 = VI, 216, 96b-97.

The verse 'nabho vātha' is not found.

(E). VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'PRABHĀSA-KH.'

IN

1 Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi of Hemādri,	Skanda-p.		Skanda-p.
Vol III, Part i,			
p 280	= VII, i, 205, 50b-51.	pp. 1079-1080	= VII, i, 206, 113-115 and 116b. Five lines from 'pitṛmś ca trisu lokesu' are not found
p. 291	= VII, i, 205, 52		
p. 314	= VII, i, 206, 51	pp. 1081-2	= VII, i, 206, 117-124 Two lines from 'sap-taśśinām pitṛnām ca' and four lines from 'devaśśinām janetārah' are not found
p. 316	= VII, i, 205, 4-5a		
p. 319	= VII, i, 205, 6		
p. 320	= VII, i, 205, 8-9		
p. 330	= VII, i, 205, 5a		
pp. 357-8	= VII, i, 205, 77-81. The verse 'paradārā- bhūgo mohāt' is not found	p. 1097	= VII, i, 336, 259-260
p. 370	= VII, i, 206, 9-10a	p. 1138	= VII, i, 206, 3
p. 389	= VII, i, 205, 53 and 55a.	p. 1139	= VII, i, 206, 4.
p. 448	= VII, i, 205, 54b and 55b	p. 1154	= VII, i, 206, 2. The line 'savayena' is not found
p. 455	= VII, i, 205, 56b-57	p. 1160	= VII, i, 208, 40
pp. 554-5	= VII, i, 206, 83b-89a	p. 1163	= VII, i, 206, 68
p. 641	= VII, i, 206, 35b-37a Three lines from 'praṇā- pusti-dyuti' are not found	p. 1176	= VII, i, 206, 49
p. 646	= VII, i, 205, 11.	p. 1179	= VII, i, 205, 11
pp. 682-3	= VII, i, 206, 47.	p. 1193	= VII, i, 206, 18b-c
pp. 694-5	= VII, i, 207, 4	p. 1199	= VII, i, 206, 46
p. 702	= VII, i, 207, 5 The lines 'cahṛa- baddham tu' etc are not found	p. 1208 (twice)	= VII, i, 206, 113-115a and 116a; and VII, i, 206, 118.
p. 717	= VII, i, 207, 3.	p. 1380	= VII, i, 206, 39b-40a.
p. 733	= VII, i, 207, 6-7. The verse 'bandha- mokṣam tu' is not found.	p. 1523	= VII, i, 208, 42b-43
p. 1019	= VII, i, 206, 66.	p. 1525	= VII, i, 208, 41-45a
p. 1021	= VII, i, 206, 40.	pp. 1525-6	= VII, i, 208, 45b The other two lines 'evam apy ācaret' etc are not found.
p. 1070	= VII, i, 336, 53b-54a.	pp. 1571-3	= VII, i, 336, 17, 34b- 53a and 57-61a. The line 'jivabhār- gava', eleven lines from 'āvāhayiṣye tān sarvān', and the verse 'jātyan- tara-sahasrāṇi' are not found.
p. 1073	= VII, i, 336, 54b.		
pp. 1074-5	= VII, i, 336, 55b-56. The line 'bhāratā- dhyanaṁ' is not found.	p. 1574	= VII, i, 336, 65b-67a.
p. 1077	= VII, i, 336, 55a.		

Skanda-p.		Skanda-p.	
pp. 1574-5	= VII, i, 336, 64-65a.	p. 587	= VII, i, 206, 93a and 92b.
Six lines from 'darbhās tilāh' are not found		2	Kālanirnaya of Mādhavācārya,
Vol III, Part ii,		pp 157-8	= VII, i, 205, 50b-51.
p 9	= VII, i, 19, 2-3	3	Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,
p 327	= VII, i, 206, 94	Vol I,	
p 540	= VII, i, 205, 50b-51.	p 1	= VII, i, 19, 2-3
p. 561	= VII, i, 205, 52	p 20	= VII, i, 205, 52
p 568	= VII, i, 203, 51.	pp 756-7	= VII, i, 19, 2-3.
pp 570-1	= VII, i, 205, 4-5a		
pp 574-5	= VII, i, 205, 6		
p 575	= VII, i, 205, 8-9		

(F). VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'CAMATKĀRA-KH.'
IN

1 Caturvarga-
cintāmaṇi of
Hemādri,

Skanda-p

Vol. III, Part 1,

p 1162 = VI (Nāgara-kh), 20,
18

Hemādri quotes 143 lines from the 'Camatkāra-kh.', and of these only two (as shown, above) are found in the present Nāgara-kh. which contains chapters on a king named Camatkāra and a town named after him.

XVIII. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'BRAHMAVAIVARTA-P.'
IN

1 Kālanirnaya of Mādhavācārya,	Brahmavaivarta-p.	3 Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana,	Brahmavaivarta-p
pp 222-223	= IV, 8, 54-55a	Vol I,	
p 226	= IV, 8, 67-68	p 38	= IV, 8, 72.
p 227	= IV, 8, 57b-58a.	The verse 'catasro ghatikāḥ' is not found.	
2. Vratakāla- viveka of Śūlapāni,		p. 42	= IV, 8, 6.
fol. 5b	= IV, 8, 67-68.	p. 44	= IV, 8, 64-66.

Brahmavaivarta-p		4. Haribhakti- vilāsa of Gopālabhatta,	Brahmavaivarta-p.
p. 48			
(twice)	= IV, 8, 62-63a		
	IV, 8, 62a	p 794	= IV, 8, 72
p 49	= IV, 8, 54-55a		The verse 'catasro
p 51			ghatikāh' is not
(twice)	= IV, 8, 67-68		found
	The verse 'krśnāstamī'	p 979	= IV, 8, 54
	is not found	p 985	= IV, 8, 67-68.
p 53	= IV, 8, 72	5 Kālasāra of	
p 54	= IV, 8, 57b-58a	Gadādhara,	
p 104	= IV, 26, 39		
p 109	= IV, 8, 84-85	p 55	= IV, 8, 57b-58a
p 326	= IV, 8, 72	p 87	= IV, 8, 72
Vol II,			The verse 'catasro
			ghatikāh' is not
p 37	= IV, 26, 39.		found
p 52		p 97	= IV, 8, 54b
(thrice)	= IV, 8, 72	p 100	= IV, 8, 67-68.
	The other verses are	p 130	= IV, 26, 39
	not found	p 140-1	= IV, 8, 72
p 87	= IV, 8, 84-85		The other verses are
p. 99	= IV, 8, 84-85.		not found.

XIX. VERSES QUOTED FROM THE 'BHAVIṢYA-P.'
'BHAVIṢYAT-P.' OR 'BHAVIṢYA' IN

1 Viṇṇāneśvara's Mitākṣarā,	Bhaviṣya-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.
on Yāj III,		
6	= I, 32, 56b-57a	p 414 = I, 39, 1, 9b-10a and 12a
		I, 46, 1a and 2a
		p. 415 = I, 81, 2-3, 14b and 15b-16a.
		I, 96, 3-4a.
2. Kālavivēka of Jimūtavāhana,		pp. 415-416 = I, 97, 1; I, 98, 1; I, 99, 1-2; I, 100, 1, and I, 101, 1-2a and 20b- 21a.
p. 408	= I, 21, 31 and 32b-34a	The line 'śnāna-
pp. 411-412	= I, 31, 1-2, 4-10 and 16	dānādīkam sarvaṇ'
	The last line 'śnāna	is not found.
	dānādīkam karma'	
	is not found.	
pp. 413-414	= I, 32, 1a and 3b-4a; I, 36, 67-69; I, 37, 1-2; I, 32, 1b-3a; I, 37, 3a.	p. 417 = I, 106, 4b-7a
	Four lines from 'supte	Seven lines from 'śukla-
	janārdane deve' are	pakṣasya sapta-
	not found,	yām upavāsaparo
		narah' are not
		found.

	Bhaviṣya-p
p 492	= I, 81, 2 The verse 'amā vai soma-vārena' is not found
pp 507-508	= I, 99, 1-2 I, 106, 4b-6a.
3 Aparārka's com. on Yāj,	
p 15	= I, 4, 87b-89.
p 26	= I, 3, 6-7.
p. 39	= I, 3, 68b-69
p 41	= I, 3, 85b-86
p 52	= I, 4, 57. The verse 'savvāpa- savva' is not found.
p 60	= I, 3 32b-33.
p 239	= I, 184, 18b-19a.
p 241	= I, 186, 20b-27a.
p 283	= I, 184, 41 and 35b-37.
pp. 626-627	= I, 181, 23-24a and 26a I, 181, 28-32.
p. 1186	= I, 65, 14, 16, 13a, 9b- 10a and 15 The line 'trisu varneṣu' is not found.
4. Dānasāgara of Ballālasena,	
fol. 14b	= I, 181, 34
„ 23a	= I, 64, 4 (= I, 103, 19b-20a).
„ 276b	= I, 93, 74b-75a.
„ 287b-	
290a	= I, 93, 58 and 59b; I, 93, 49-50; I, 93, 51; I, 93 69-71; I, 93, 45; I, 93, 42; I, 93, 43-44; I, 93, 68; (the verse 'bheryāṇi ca vādyāni' is not found); I, 93, 60-61a; I, 93, 62; I, 93, 63;

	Bhaviṣya-p
	(three lines 'dhana- dhānyam' etc are not found); I, 93, 35; I, 93, 36, I, 118, 50b-52a, I, 103, 39b-41a, I, 93, 37; (three verses 'vīmānam iti' etc are not found).
5. Smṛti-candrikā of Devana- bhaṭṭa,	
I, 53	= I, 3, 6-7a.
III, i, 54	= I, 181, 28-29
IV, 163-164	— Of the five quoted verses, the verse 'vaśvadevena' is the same as Bhav I, 184, 5; the verse 'avratānām' is the same as Bhav I, 4, 117b-118a; and the verse 'brāhmanāti- kramo nāsti' is the same as Bhav I, 4, 120b-121a or Bhav I, 184, 29b-30a.
230	= I, 186, 24.
231	= I, 186, 21b-22a.
6. Caturvarga- cintāmani of Hemādri,	
Vol I,	
p 40	= I, 172, 22b-23a.
p 62	= I, 31, 1-2, 6-7a and 16.
p 63	= I, 81, 2; I, 96, 3-4a; I, 100, 1.
pp. 432-4	= IV, 155, 1-3, 7-10, 11b-12a, 11a and 13b to the end.
p. 466	= I, 170, 6-7. Also cf. IV, 153, 3a and 4b.
p. 467	= I, 169, 19-20.

Bhaviṣya-p	Bhaviṣya-p
pp 467-8 = I, 170, 1-2a and 3b-5 p 504 = I, 172, 23b-25a p 663 = IV, 168, 45 p 664 = I, 169, 1-2 p. 671 = IV, 168, 10b-12a p 673 = IV, 168, 12b-13a pp. 680 = I, 172, 25b-26a	pp 514-9 = I, 31, 11-13, 14b-31a, 35b-36b and 37b-63. A few lines on pp 517 and 519 are not found
The verse 'dadyād gunavate' is not found pp 1031-3 = IV, 128, 2-11 and 13- 15 The line 'ato drumāh' (on p 1033) is not found.	pp 519-520 = I, 22, 1-2 pp 537-543 = IV, 37, 1-8 and 11 to the end. The line 'rasāj-palam' (on p 538) and the verse 'yad indrena purā cīrnam' are not found
&c. &c	pp 557-560 = I, 32, 1-5a, 6b-16, 50- 51a and 33b-41a Eleven lines from 'evam ukṭvābhavat tusnim' (on p 559) are not found
Vol. II, Part i,	pp. 560-563 = I, 32, 42b-47a and 48- 54a
pp. 4-5 = I, 181, 10-14 Two lines from 'varna- dharmah sa ukta tu' are not found.	pp. 560-563 = I, 32, 42b-47a and 48- 54a Two lines from 'pūja- yitvā prayatnena' (on p 562) and seven verses from 'gām ca dadyāt savatsām vai' (on p 562) are not found.
p. 10 = I, 181, 7a. pp. 19-20 = I, 4, 87b-89 p. 23 = I, 2, 1-3. p. 27 = I, 181, 34. pp. 31-2 = I, 181, 33b-40a. pp. 50-51 = I, 97, 20; I, 98, 9-10a; I, 100, 8b-9a and 6b-7, I, 68, 3b-4. The verse 'sadbhāga- kustham' is not found.	pp. 563-4 = I, 37, 1 to the end; I, 38, 1-4 and 5b to the end. The line 'śaci dvi- bāhuk' and the verse 'nakṭena bhakti-sahitam' are not found.
pp. 220-231 = I, 214, 3 to the end. pp. 345-8 = I, 18, 1 to the end. pp. 381-2 = I, 19, 85b-90 and 91b- 93a.	p. 567 = I, 37, 1 to the end Two lines from 'pāya- sena ghṛtādhyaena' are not found.
pp. 474-7 = I, 21, 1-12, 13b-14a, 15b-17a, 18-20, 24- 31 and 34b-36. The verse 'yo 'syāṃ dadāti' (on p. 477) is not found.	pp. 604-5 = I, 39, 1-11 and 12b to the end. (quoted as from Bhaviṣ- yotara- purāṇa') Three lines from 'tālam śaṣṭhyāṃ' are not found.
pp. 512-3 = I, 31, 1-5. pp. 513-4 = I, 31, 6-10.	pp. 656-9 = I, 59, 1-25. pp. 659-660 = I, 51, 1-15.

Bhaviṣya-p.	Bhaviṣya-p
pp 660-663 = I, 81, 1; I, 96, 3-4, 7-13a, 15b-16a and 17 to the end	pp 679-685 — Cf I, 68, I, 69; I, 70, 1-11
Two lines 'sauvarṇam kāraved bhaktyā' and 'loke prasaddhah' (on p 661) are not found.	(There are many verses common to the Bhaviṣya-p and the Caturvarga-cintāmani).
pp 663-4 = I, 81, 2-4, 7-11a and 12-15a.	pp 685-7 — Cf. I, 70
pp 664-7 = I, 97, 1-11a and 12 to the end	pp 687-690 = I, 208, 3-22a and 30b-34a
pp 667-9 = I, 98, 1-14, 15b-16 and 18 to the end	pp 690-696 — Cf I, 212 and 213 (verses 1-40a)
p. 669 = I, 99, 1-4 and 6 to the end	pp 696-7 = I, 213, 40b to the end
pp 669-671 = I, 100, 1-2 and 3b to the end (quoted as from 'Bhaviṣyottara')	pp 724-6 = I, 209, 1-14
Three lines from 'putra-kāmo labhet putram' (on p 671) are not found.	Two lines 'mūtrāś c āśvayujē' and 'tejasā harī-samlāśah' (on p 725) are not found
pp. 671-4 = I, 101, 1, 7, 2-6, 8-9, 11b-12a and 13-22a	p 726 = I, 197, 25b-27
pp 674-6 = I, 166, 1-15a.	pp. 726-8 = I, 65, 1-7a, 19-20, 21b-23, 21a and 24 to the end
Six lines from 'kartavyo nīksubhārkas tu' (on p 674), two lines from 'bhaktyā ca dakṣmām' and the line 'gandharva-rāja patinā' (on p. 675) and eight lines from 'mahāratna-prabhāvena' (on p. 676) are not found.	The line 'pavitrā hi pavitrānām' (on p 726) is not found
pp. 676-9 = I, 167, 1 to the end.	pp 728-731 = I, 105, 1-14a, 15b-16, 12b, 14b-15a, 17-20a, 25-26 and 29
The lines from 'kulīnaṃ rūpasampannam' (on p. 677) and the lines 'kulīnaṃ rūpa-sampannam', 'mahotsāhaṃ mahāvīryam', 'itihāśavidam' and 'prabhayā sūrya-saṃkṣāḥ' (on p. 678) are not found.	pp 731-4 = I, 64, 36b-60 and 61b to the end.
	The line 'śarkarā-khādya-mūsrāṇi' (on p. 732) is not found.
	pp. 735-6 = I, 108, 1-11.
	pp. 736-8 = I, 104, 2 to the end
	pp. 740-741 = I, 106, 4b-10a and 11b-14.
	p. 741 = I, 110, 1-5, 7a and 8b
	pp 741-3 = I, 111, 1 to the end.
	The verse 'prāpyeha vṛpulam devam' (on p. 742) and the 'homārcā kriyate tatra' (on p. 743) are not found.
	pp. 744-6 = I, 112, 10b-17.

Bhaviṣya-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.
pp 748-753 = I, 163, 1-12, 15-17a, 18-21 and 22b to the end. Eighteen lines from 'dadhyodanam ca bhūṇjāno' (on pp. 750-1) and three lines from 'kāntiyā vidhu-samo rājan' (on p 752) are not found	In Caturvarga-cintāmani, Vol II, verses have been quoted from the 'Bhaviṣya-p' in connection with vows on Tithis beginning with Astamī, but these verses are not found in our printed Bhaviṣya. In Caturvarga-cintāmani, Vol III, verses have been quoted from the 'Bhaviṣya-p' on Srāddha etc., and many of these verses are found in our printed Bhaviṣya. But it is needless to enlist them here
pp 754-6 = I, 109, 1a and 2b-13a	
pp 760-3 = I, 47, 50b to the end The first five lines 'ksamā satyam' etc are not found.	7 Mādhavācārya's com on the Parāśara-smṛti, Vol I, Part I, p. 324 = I, 4, 56.
&c.	&c.
Vol II, Part ii,	Vol I, Part II,
pp 424-440 = I, 55-57 and 58 (verses 1-23). There are many cases of disagreement.	pp 24-25 = I, 3, 6-7a p 347 = I, 4, 120b-121a (= I, 184, 29b-30a)
pp. 520-1 = I, 82, 1, 3, 5-6a and 7b-8a. The verse 'yo yah sūrya-dine' is not found	p 378 = I, 186, 21b-22a p 392 = I, 186, 24
pp 522-3 = I, 82, 8b-10a, 12a, 13 and 15b-24.	8 Madana-pārijāta of Madanapāla, p 355 = I, 3, 6-7a. p. 411 = I, 32, 56b-57a. p 476 = I, 183, 9-21a. The line 'haviṣyena' is not found.
pp 523-4 = I, 83, 1-3. I, 68, 9b-4a. I, 83, 4b-5 and 6a.	
p. 524 (twice) = I, 86, 11b-12a (the remaining lines are not found). I, 86, 15b-17.	9. Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary, on Manu II, 1 = I, 181, 7-8. on Manu II, 13 = I, 181, 17a. on Manu II, 25 = I, 181, 10-14. The line 'varṇa-dharmaḥ sa uktas tu' is not found.
pp. 525-6 = I, 89, 2b-3 and 5-7. p. 526 = I, 90, 1-3a and 5. pp. 526-7 = I, 91, 1-4a and 6. (quoted as from 'Bhaviṣyottara')	
&c.	&c.
(The above list of the quotations from the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in the Caturvarga-cintāmani is not exhaustive).	
	on Manu III, 7 = I, 181, 24a.

APPENDIX II.

We give below a list of the more important of the untraceable *Purānic verses* contained in the commentaries and Nibandhas. A good number of such verses has already been noted in Appendix I. In spite of repeated searches we could not trace these verses in the respective *Purānas*, especially in the editions mainly used in this thesis. It is, however, not possible to assert that not a single traceable verse has escaped our notice.

The untraceable *Purānic verses* in the *Caturvarga-cintāmani* are too numerous to be noted here.

[The abbreviations used exclusively in the following list are as follows :

Acom.	=	Aparārka's com. on Yāj	Mcom. on	
AS	=	Adbhutasāgara (of Ballālasena).	PS	= Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti
BS-bh. of			Mit.	= Mitākṣarā (on Yāj)
AM	=	Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya of Ānandatīrtha Madhva.	MP	= Madana-pārījāta (of Madanapāla).
DK	=	Dīpa-kalikā (of Śūlapāṇi)	Npr	= Nityācārapradīpa (of Narasimha Vājaṇeyin).
DS	=	Dānasāgara (of Ballālasena).	PV	= Prāyaścitta-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi).
DV	=	Durgotsava-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi).	SC	= Smṛti-candrikā (of Devaṇabhaṭṭa).
HL	=	Hārālatā (of Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa).	SS	= Smṛtyarthasāra (of Śrīdhara).
HV	=	Haribhaktivilāsa (of Gopālabhaṭṭa).	ST	= Smṛti-tattva (of Raghunandana).
KC	=	Kṛtyācāra (of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya).	ŚV	= Śrāddha-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi).
Kcom. on			TC	= Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi (of Vācaspatiśiṣra).
M.	=	Kullūkabhaṭṭa's com. on the Manu-smṛti.	TV	= Tīthi-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi).
KR	=	Kṛtya-ratnākara (of Caṇḍeśvara).	VV	= Vratakāla-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi).
KV	=	Kālaviveka (of Jīmūta-vāhana.	YT	= Yātrā-tattva (of Raghunandana).]

Verses quoted from the

1. 'Mārkandeya-p.' in—(i) Acom, pp. 421 (=Vis III, 14, 31-32), 960, 1202.
(u) AS, p. 487. (m) SC, II, p. 261 and IV, pp. 263-4, 391-2
(w) KC, fol. 14b. (v) MP, pp. 61, 248, 264, 308, 326, 329
2. 'Vāyu-p' or 'Vāyaviya' m—(i) Acom, pp. 51, 202-3, 203, 467, 491, 532, 535, 1032 (u) DS, fol. 25b, 150a-b (m) SC, I, 87; II, 410; IV, 76, 82, 335, 339, 339-340, 352, 403, 404, 416-7 (w) KV, pp. 303, 369, 372, 428
(v) KC, fol. 3b. (vi) Mcom on PS, I, 1, p. 134, I, 11, pp. 40, 78-79, 415, 417, 423, II, 11, pp. 249, 261 (vii) PV, p. 462 (viii) MP, pp. 24, 585, 596, 625 (ix) TC, pp. 4, 233, 318, 325.
3. 'Brahmānda-p' or 'Brahmānda' m—(i) KV, pp. 346, 401, 440, 453, 494, 534
(u) Acom, pp. 126, 143-4, 269, 421, 448, 488, 499, 509, 512 (m) AS, pp. 524, 527, 531, 537, 538, 539, 541, 542, 544, 545, 546, 556 (w) SC, I, 28, II, 294, 302-3, 311, 317, 323, IV, 61, 261, 269-270, 338, 314, 358 (v) Mit. on Yāj III, 30
4. 'Vāṣṇu-p' or 'Waisnava' m—(i) KV, pp. 330, 464, 493 (u) Acom, pp. 139, 244, 883 (m) Mit. on Yāj III, 6(?) (w) DS, fol. 25b. (v) AS, pp. 383, 499-500, 564 (vi) SC, I, 127; II, 331, 423, 526, 570, 617, IV, 48, 53, 160, 213, 223, 243 (vii) Kcom on M IV, 62 (viii) KC, fol. 57b, 60b, 68b. (ix) PV, pp. 255, 396, 398, 431 (x) MP, pp. 204, 211.
5. 'Matsya-p' or 'Mātsya' m—(i) KV, pp. 62, 177, 304, 391, 426, 447, 462, 523
(u) Acom, pp. 201, 207, 209, 295, 370, 380-382, 427, 429, 442, 488, 549, 1225 (m) HL, p. 169 (w) AS, pp. 405, 409. (v) DS, fol. 26a. (vi) SC, II, 285, 565; IV, 53, 72, 76, 77-78, 198, 451-2; V, 86, 112. (vii) Kcom. on M VIII, 92 (viii) MP, pp. 308, 525, 534, 537 (ix) PV, p. 405. (x) TC, pp. 25, 42, 192, 233, 263, 279, 352 (xi) Npr, p. 86
6. 'Bhāgavata-p.' or 'Bhāgavata' m—(i) AS, pp. 427, 553 (u) Madhva's com on the Bhagavadgītā, pp. 101, 136, 168, 394, 440, 462, 525, 531, 613, 704 (In his Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya Madhva quotes, from a 'Bhāgavata-tantra' and 'Bhāgavata', verses which are not found in the present Bhāgavata-p. It is likely that in the above mentioned untraceable verses also there are some which were taken from the 'Bhāgavata-tantra').
7. 'Kūrma-p' or 'Kaurmya' m—(i) KV, pp. 441, 444, 448, 508. (u) Acom, pp. 201, 201-2, 204, 205, 207 (m) DS, fol. 172b, 246b. (w) For the verses quoted in Mcom. on PS see Islampurkar's edition. (v) MP, pp. 258, 272, 878. (vi) TC, p. 265. (vii) Npr, pp. 80, 85, 132. (viii) VV, fol. 3a, 6b. (ix) SC, IV, pp. 27, 61, 66, 71, 73, 75, 78, 79
8. 'Vāmana-p.' or 'Vāmana' in—(i) KV, p. 360. (u) SC, II, 363. (m) MP, p. 62. (iv) ST, I, 356, 415, 840; II, 76, 139, 148, 563, 632. (v) YT, p. 19.
9. 'Linga-p.' or 'Lainga' in—(i) KV, pp. 352, 407, 414, 422, 466, 528, 535. (ii) Mit. on Yāj. I, 16, and III, 30. (iii) Acom., pp. 212, 428, 430 (iv) AS, p. 513. (v) SC, II, 623. (vi) SS, p. 66. (vii) Mcom. on PS, I, 11, 181-2. (viii) MP, pp. 535, 538 (ix) KR, fol. 149b. (x) DV, pp. 2, 5, 8, 22. (xi) TC, pp. 192, 341, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 351, 353, 356, 359. (xii) ST, I, 180, 198, 351, 396, 396-7, 650, 657, 678, 825; II, 63, 299, 412, 627.

- 10 'Varāha-p' or 'Vārāha' m—(i) KV, pp 183, 441, 445, 447, 449, 450, 455, 456. (ii) Acom, pp 126, 202, 497, 1052 (iii) SC, II, 548; IV, 63. (iv) Mcom on PS, I, i, 296 and 476 (v) MP, p 210 (vi) KR, fol 167a, 186a (vii) VV, fol 2a (viii) TC, pp. 191, 203.
11. 'Brhannārādiya-p' or 'Brhannārādiya' m—(i) ST, I, 187. (ii) HV, pp. 664, 674, 712
- 12 'Nārādiya-p' or 'Nārādiya' m—(i) KV, pp 182, 442 (ii) SC, IV, 74, 75. (iii) Mcom on PS, II, i, 34 (iv) MP, p 265 (v) VV, fol 5a, 5b (vi) ST, I, 52, 107, 110, 112, 114, 147, 376, 786, II, 46, 79, 80, 101, 346, 428, 436, 507, 560, 648, 649
- 13 'Padma p' or 'Pādma' m—(i) KV, pp 61, 288, 497, 498, 502 (ii) Acom, pp 211, 212, 279 (iii) SC, II, 262, 321, 541, 545, 546, 547, 600, 629, IV, 389, V, 66, 194 (iv) Mcom on PS, I, i, 239; I, ii, 165, 434, II, ii, 240, 269 (v) KC, fol 33a (vi) MP, p 299 (vii) VV, fol 2b, 4a, 7b. (viii) PV, p 46 (ix) ŚV, fol 87a (x) DK, fol 126b.
- 14 'Agni-p' or 'Āgneya' m—(i) BS-bh of AM, pp 53a, 68a (ii) AS, pp 19, 23, 50, 320, 378, 412, 426, 443, 453, 461, 488, 500, 501, 512, 513, 657, 708 (iii) DS, fol 18a-b, 20a, 99a-b, 100a-b 113b-114b, 115a, 122b-123a, 123b, 127b-128a, 129b, 131a, 149a-b, 153b, 168b, 174a-177a, 180a, 181b, 187a, 189a, 204a, 209b, 216b-217a, 221a (iv) SC, V, 122, 123, 123-4, 163 (in all these cases the title 'Vahni-p' occurs) (v) Mcom. on PS, I, i, 351, 365, 366-9, 178 (Vahni-p); II, ii, 221. (vi) KR, fol. 189b, 177b (vii) DV, p 12 (viii) TV, fol 3b. (ix) TC, pp. 206, 263 (x) ST, I, 31, 93, 100, 130, 198, 371, 410, 411, 432, 483, 495, 498, 519, 810, 839, II, 37, 64, 65, 66 147, 238, 286, 339, 349, 365, 529, 559, 571, 627 (xi) HV, pp 261, 296, 301, 320, 377, 487, 618, 751, 752, 775, 943, 977, 984, 1089, 1103, 1289, 1325 (From Vahni-p on pp 661, 977, 984). (xii) Npr, pp 149-150, 183, 626. (xiii) Haribhaktirasāmrtasindhu, p 62.
- 15 'Garuda-p' or 'Gāruda' m—(i) BS-bh of AM, pp 2a, 4b-5a, 10a, 43b, 47a, 50b, 73a, 75a (ii) SC, IV, 65, 67 (iii) Mcom. on PS, I, i, 198, II, ii, 226 (iv) VV, fol. 6a, 6b. (v) ST, I, 50, 54, 105-6, 106-7, 107, 109, 147, 148, 154, 358, 362, 413, 417, 750; II, 41-2, 48, 49, 53, 64, 70, 79-80, 87, 95, 143, 152, 424, 448, 527, 567-9. (vi) Npr, pp. 137, 190, 582, 596, 604. (vii) HV, pp. 143, 170-171, 182-3, 184, 192, 194, 273, 301, 318, 319, 322, 324, 333, 334, 356, 362, 363, 364, 365, 367, 368, 392, 393, 419, 444, 458, 460, 465, 468, 470, 487, 519, 561, 667, 678, 678, 757, 775, 779, 789, 790, 793, 798, 882, 934-5, 940.
16. 'Brahma-p.' or 'Brāhma' in (i) KV, (ii) Acom. etc. See under Brahmapurāṇa in Part I, Chap. III, sec. 8.
17. 'Bhavisya-p.' or 'Bhaviṣya' in—(i) KV, pp. 101, 173, 194-5, 300, 301-2, 302, 324-5, 325-6, 337, 372, 391-2, 401, 404-5, 406-7, 418, 420, 424, 438, 443, 447, 448, 451, 454, 485, 493, 512, 513, 527. (ii) Prāyaścitta-prakarana, pp. 4, 6, 12, 13, 14, 17, 22, 25, 41. (iii) Acom, pp. 7, 51, 162, 211, 212, 215, 247, 421, 460, 471, 520, 522, 525, 538, 563, 564, 1037-8, 1055-6, 1056, 1056-7, 1059, 1060, 1061-2, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1067-9, 1071, 1075-7, 1081-2, 1193. (iv) DS, fol. 13b, 23b, 26b. (v) SC, I, 110, 175; II, 320, 600, 608; IV, 9-10, 17, 49-50, 68, 70, 122, 164, 236, 370, 405, 413, 437, 440, V, 104. (vi) Kcom. on M. III, 254; XI,

73, 74, 75-78, 83, 87, 91, 101, 102, 147 (vn) Mcom on PS I, 1, 419,
 I, n, 40, 51, 291, 347, 378, 382, 444, 448, 452, 453, 460-461, II, 1, 141
 (viii) MP, pp 33, 73, 262, 324, 325, 332, 355, 358, 411, 440, 543, 619,
 630, 636, 791, 801, 802, 802-3, 816 (ix) VV, fol 4b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a.
 (x) DK, fol. 3a, 4a, 28a, 33b, 45b, 115b, 116b

For the verses quoted from the 'Skanda-p' or 'Skānda' and its different
 Khandas but not traceable in the printed Skanda, see under Skanda-p in Part I,
 Chap. III, see. 9.

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21	36	Sanskrit	Sanskrit
27	34	the story	on the story
27	40	<i>Kathitān</i>	<i>kathitān</i>
27	43	<i>prasamkhātāh</i>	<i>prasamkhyātāh</i>
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33	2	<i>vice verse</i>	<i>vice versa</i>
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136	21	chaps,	chaps.
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